E. M. CUDAHY
LOYOLA
UNIVERSITY
MEMORIAL LIBRARY

EASTERN ART

VOLUME II

1930

EASTERN ART

AN ANNUAL

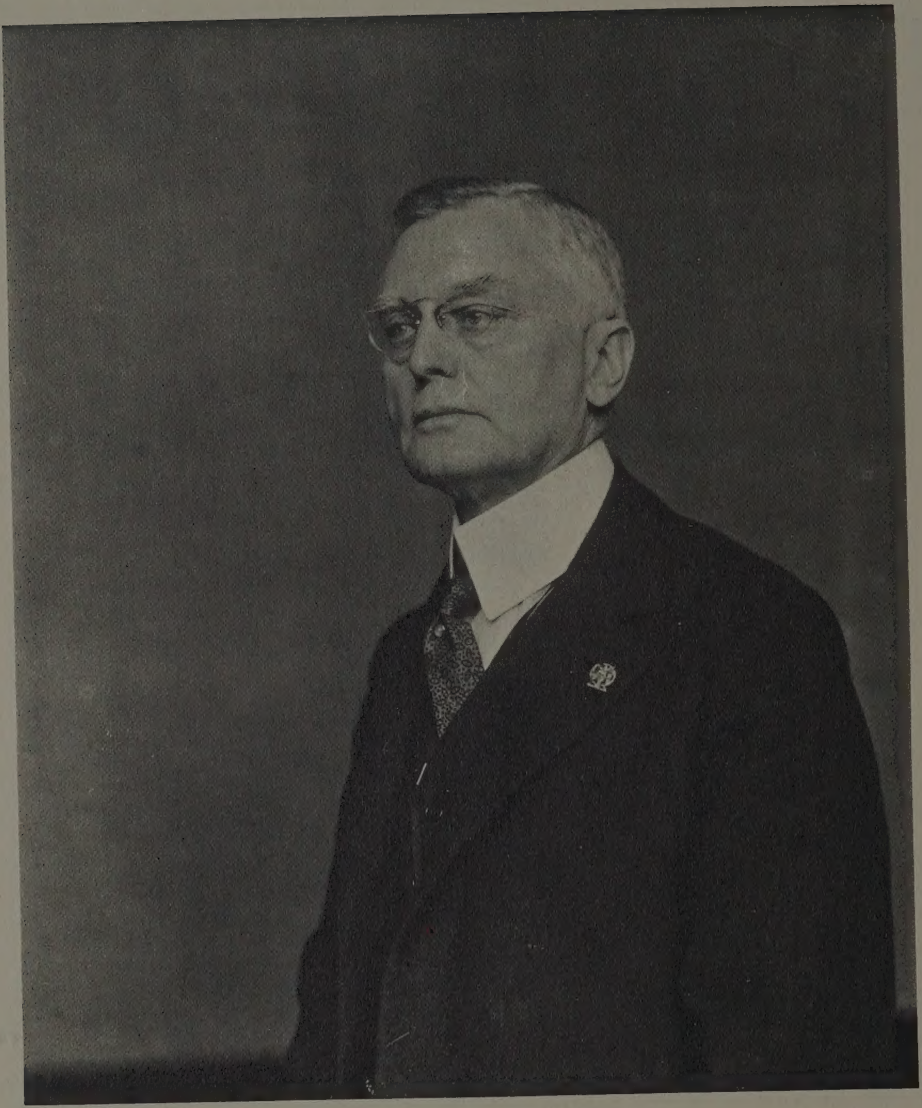
EDITED BY
LANGDON WARNER
HORACE H. F. JAYNE

THE EDITORS OF *Eastern Art* ARE NOT RESPONSIBLE
FOR THE OPINIONS ADVANCED BY
THEIR CONTRIBUTORS

PUBLISHED FOR THE COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION
MEMORIAL HALL · FAIRMOUNT PARK
PHILADELPHIA

COPYRIGHTED 1930
BY EASTERN ART

N
8
.E3
1930



EDWARD HAMILTON BELL: 1857–1929

E. M. CUDAHY
LOYOLA
UNIVERSITY
MEMORIAL LIBRARY

EDWARD HAMILTON BELL

1857–1929

Edward Hamilton Bell died at Philadelphia on March twenty-sixth in the seventy-third year of his age. This publication owes its inception to him and plans for its future occupied his last conscious hours.

An Englishman by birth and training, coming from a large and distinguished family, he had been associated with America since 1885, particularly with the artistic life of this country in such varied forms as the drama, the designing of scenery, interior decoration, architecture, and landscape architecture. It was not, however, for the versatility that such variety suggests, but rather for his passion for sound and exact scholarship, that he was valued by his associates in art. Whether the problem was that of stage lighting or the minutiæ of Chinese costume in a play for Winthrop Ames or whether it was the chemistry involved in the adequate preservation of early paintings for the Johnson Collection of Philadelphia, the matter received the entire and respectful attention of a keen brain and an exacting conscience.

Bell's understanding of true scholarship made him the last one to claim it for himself or tolerate pretensions in others. Yet this very humility—in a person not otherwise "humble"—gave him real title to the name of scholar. When, at the end of the war, the Johnson Collection of paintings was put under his care, a lifelong habit of observation of pictures and a cultivated taste were his principal assets. But the technical studies carried on in his youth under his uncle, Sir Edward Poynter had not been forgotten, and it was not long before his careful investigations made him a competent judge of the methods in use by the picture restorers and preservers. His experiments in woods and their resistance to our climatic changes, as well as into the mediæval crafts, resulted in the development of a simple form of cradling for old panels which is now believed to be the most adequate that has been evolved.

Several of the houses which he decorated in New York stand today as examples of his sound colour sense and his understanding of the proper use of ancient materials in modern surroundings. The gardens of many of his friends and their country houses as well as the furniture and the paintings which they have bought would show, if one could collect such evidence, his catholic taste and, still more, the enthusiasm with which he gave experience and critical ability to solve the problems of those of whom he was fond.

While Oriental art had been, for more than twenty years his paramount interest, he never had the opportunity to devote himself exclusively to its study. In spite of that fact he read every book and treatise available on the subject and knew by heart the oriental collections in this country, Europe, Russia, and Japan. The notes he made on his reading and, particularly, his carefully illustrated notes on the private collections of Japan and Europe, would make a valuable book on Chinese and Japanese art history. Indeed, this material had proved so useful a reference library and mine of information that we encouraged him to put it in shape for publication. The task was partly done when he died, and whole chapters exist in which his tabulation of the results of the work of special investigators amounts to a fresh and important·contribution to the subject. He would have claimed no originality in this work, but his colleagues who continually made use of that material, and who happily can continue to do so, have found his conclusions both original and suggestive. It was characteristic of him that his publications on oriental art remain but a few special articles of no great length.

Hamilton Bell, as editor of *Eastern Art*, would have permitted no eulogy in these pages. But his colleagues feel it no disloyalty to add this much of a personal nature: that the circle of his friends has been deprived of an intellectual companionship not to be replaced. He came, middle aged, to Philadelphia and at once took his place among persons of kindred taste. He was given positions of public trust. He was sought for his wit and his kindness. He was relied on for the tenacity of his friendship to the third generation in America, and he provided a certain flavour in our society which the Englishman who becomes acclimated can provide perhaps better than any American.

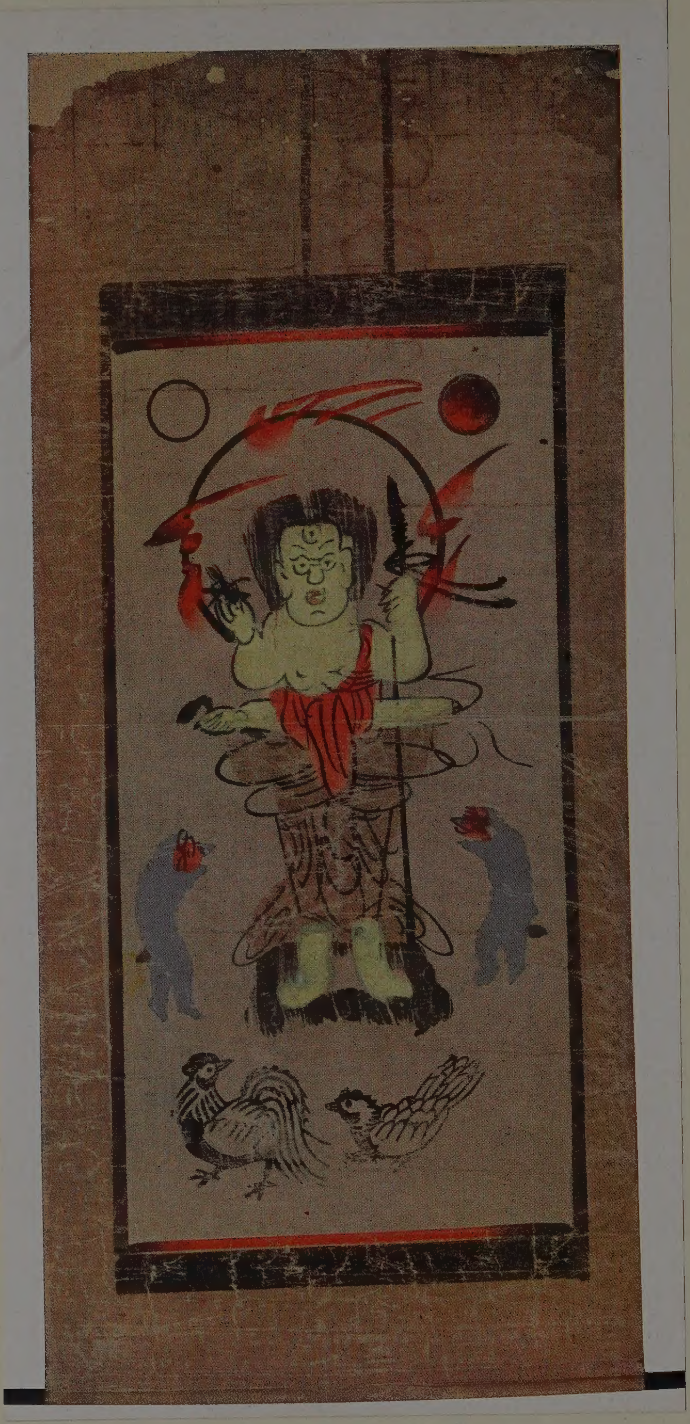


FIG. I. SHŌMEN KONGŌ

Plate I. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

THE PEASANT PAINTINGS OF ŌTSU, JAPAN

By MUNEYOSHI YANAGI

That foreigners have hitherto paid small attention to these Ōtsu-e, or paintings from Ōtsu, is not strange considering that good examples are few, even in Japan, and that the manner is strange and crude. None of them is signed nor are there acknowledged master works or great names connected with them. And yet the widest appreciation of the masters of the print schools and others of the *Ukiyo-e* tradition has come from America and Europe. These traditions were parallel and contemporary, the one acclaimed widely, the other until now neglected. But we Japanese have provided no literature on Ōtsu-e in any European language and have taken no trouble to share with the West our own pleasure in this branch of folk art. A further explanation of the neglect of these pictures is the undoubted fact that few, even among our own historians of art and students of aesthetics, have properly appreciated folk painting. Anything so subtly simple which, in its very essence, precludes signed masterpieces will attract small notice from professional critics and will furnish enjoyment only to those untrammelled by the literary point of view.

These reasons have seemed sufficient for me to bring into English the abridgment, or synopsis of my Japanese book on the subject.[1] I have retained the illustrations and added to them, for they seem to me to be more important than anything that can be written on the subject. I believe that many people will delight as I do in these paintings and that their popularity will steadily increase.

I am grateful to Mr. Horace Jayne and to Mr. Langdon Warner, without whose interest in the subject these notes could not have been published; to Mr. Tojiro Kurahashi, my Japanese publisher; and to the Hanshichi Printing Company of Tokyo, for the colour illustrations. Except where noted, the illustrations are from the author's collection.

The pictures from Ōtsu represent folk art in its purest form. Their character and their beauty rest entirely on that fact. They have nothing in them of fine art, but should be regarded as a craft—the work of craftsmen or, better still, artisans. The Ōtsu picture is a commonplace work done by common people and sold to the public. It is unsigned and undated—without insistence on individuality. Anyone, heir to that tradition, could paint such a picture if he but abandon all claim to being an artist and to the right of self-expression. Here was a domain where no individual liberty was valued—or possible. Cheap stuff was produced and in generous quantity. To be folk art a picture must be cheap stuff and a common thing. It must be a spontaneous picture, not a work of aesthetic ideas or of stuff that has been learnt. It is a picture not to be exhibited but to be used. It must have no extraordinariness whatever. It is a picture done with sweat, not with mood or caprice. It is the artisan's livelihood and his family's livelihood. In short, it is but a folk art—the product of no artistic ambition.

So candid a description of the undoubted facts may well disappoint readers who are children of this individualistic age. To them the qualities which I find excellent in the Ōtsu paintings are not excellent. And yet I question after all if these are not valuable qualities and of aesthetic significance. For it seems to me that, since the time of the Renaissance in the West, people have lost something of the right notion of beauty that is ordinary and have stopped making common things beautifully. Surely in the past such ordinary things have been made by unnamed craftsmen in a manner so beautiful and adequate that no genius could do better. Is it not possible that there is a domain of art in which genius has no concern?

---

[1] *Shoki Ōtsu-e* (Early Ōtsu paintings) M. Yanagi, Tokyo, 1929.

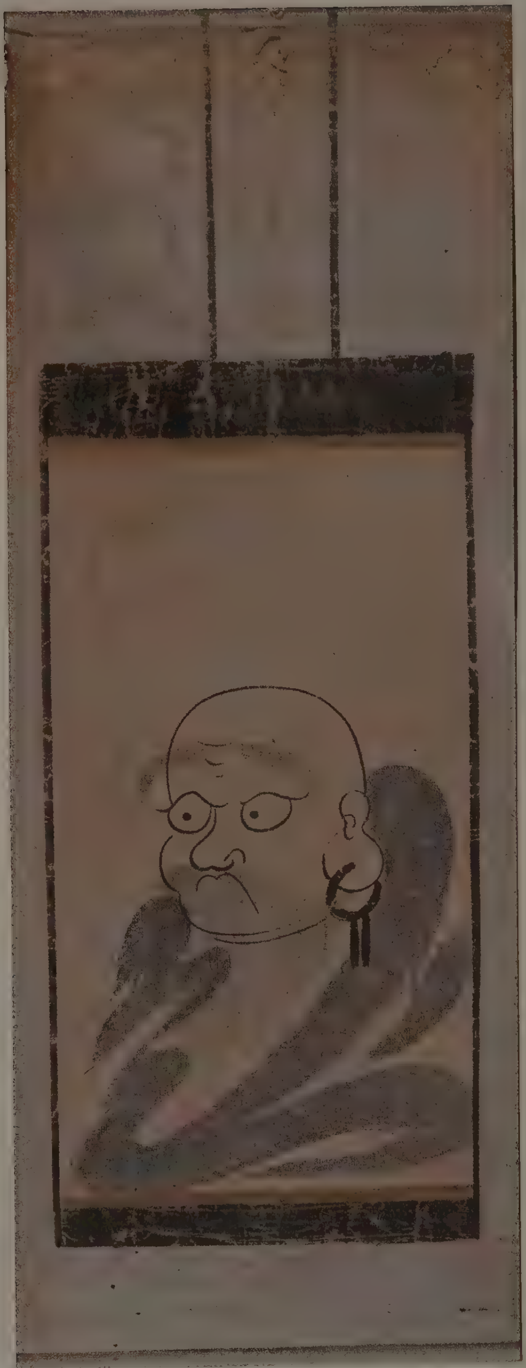


FIG. 2. DARUMA DAISHI

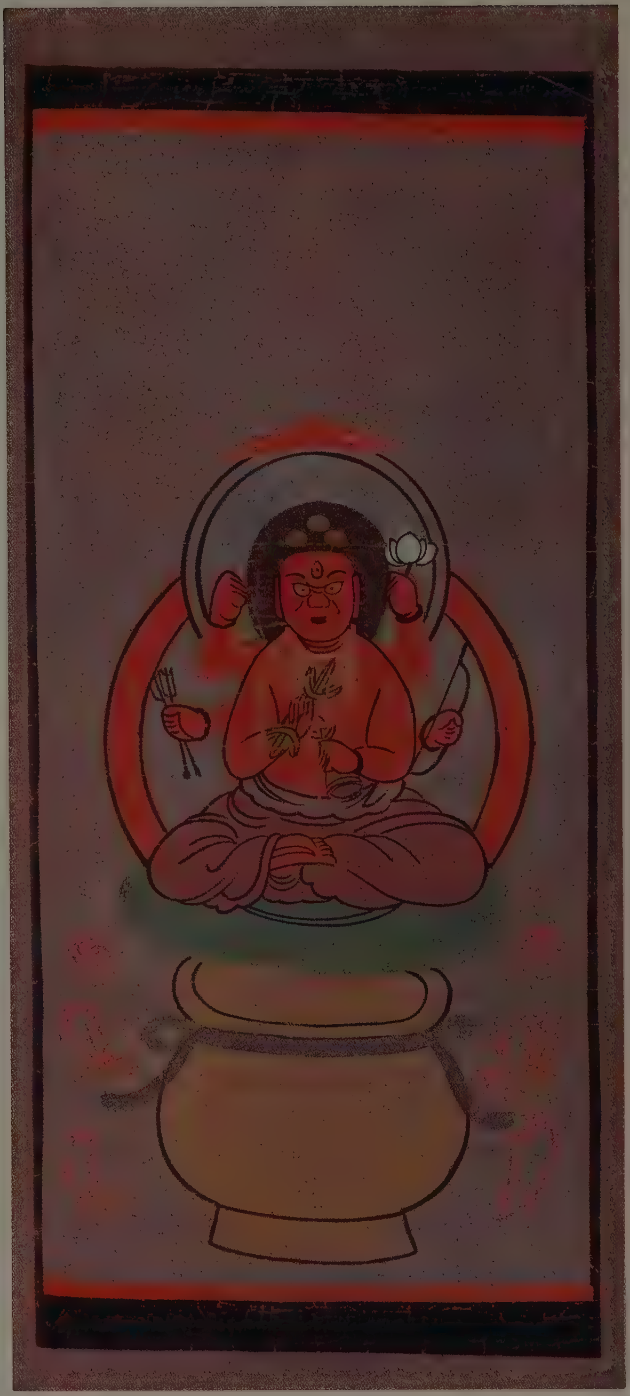


FIG. 3. AIZEN MYŌ-Ō

PLATE II. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

If there is indeed such a domain it was in that very region that the Ōtsu paintings were born. Hanabusa Itcho, one of our able eighteenth century masters, wrote a verse on the margin of one of these peasant paintings that showed two wrestlers engaged in combat, straining to topple each other over:

> Ah, Ōtsu-e!
> How can I keep my old feet?
> How could I throw you?

That was the honest confession of one of our very accomplished draughtsmen. Has the chairmaker or the silversmith today never felt the same despair at the sight of common chairs and silver work that were produced in the middle ages?

Now it is this mysterious beauty of the ordinary which gives power and appeal to the painting of Ōtsu. Only common people in the strait grip of common tradition could produce these things. If they had signed their pictures the tradition would have been broken and they would have become individual expressions, unfriendly to the peasant mind.

Behind the simple compositions of these pictures there stretches a far background and a wide one. This genuine simplicity is not arrived at in a generation; it means the labour of forebears, the long experience of the neighbourhood. Adequate skill has ripened this simplicity into a homely pattern of lines and of colours, that no individual experience could produce.

Thus, too, with the subjects, they are as traditional as the manner in which they are treated. Had any craftsman thought to exercise freedom of subject it would have been distasteful to his hidebound public and the traditional manner would have been a misfit—all freedom would have been lost in such license. They drew as easily and freely as men walk a paved way—only to stumble when they are free to leave it. And each one of these artisans, young or old, wise or fool, could become a master craftsman within such simple limits, for a stupid man can walk as skillfully as a sage. This world of folk arts is the concern of each one of us common people, but there is no room in it for rare genius.

If the repetition of a machine is the death of all art, the manual repetition by a craftsman is the very mother of skill and skill is the mother of beauty. No perfect workmanship nor adequate craft can arise without a long tradition behind it and an almost infinite repetition. Thus it comes about that the individual artist is never a sound craftsman unless he comes from the ranks of his traditional craft. The charm to us of these Ōtsu paintings is their splendid easy brush stroke—as fit and familiar in our lives as the simple stories and folk proverbs which the paintings illustrate. Perhaps, even in the West, a study of the pictures here illustrated will rouse some interest because of their simple and bold strokes. They were drawn swiftly, but without risk of failure and with no error. And in just this spirit they were accepted, simply and without doubting by the villagers.

Another beauty that lay in this folk art was the beauty of cheapness. They were such common things that the craftsmen were in no danger of overvaluing their product and had no chance to be jealous of their aesthetic standing. Thus freed from the pitfalls of individual genius they drew innocently and peacefully. Expensive masterpieces lack this spontaneous beauty. It is at once pathetic and only natural that today we pay such high prices for pictures that prove the agreeable simplicity of the past—an attitude of mind that we so lack today.

Some may object that these Ōtsu pictures were crude. That is certainly true in the worst cases. But such crudeness was no disease; it came from the very flush of health. The print masters of the Ukiyo-e school, at their worst, were lovely and sensual and sick. But the true folk art has neither sensuality, nor sentimentalism nor abnormality, whether it is in the form of a pot or a chair or a painting. Even in the pictures hung at the village shrines by the superstitious one finds only innocence—never a pathological execution. The simplicity of the best folk art is not real crudeness, it is essentiality. The quintessence has become visible when unnecessary parts are removed. It is a condensed, a crystalized art. Nothing further can be taken from it without violence to the meaning, and yet everything which is essential remains.

Happily for us, Moronobu, one of the earliest print masters of the Ukiyo-e school, published a map of the Tokaido in 1690. (Figure 33). This great road follows the eastern shore of Japan for close on three hundred miles and I have chosen for reproduction a section of it to show the villages about Ōtsu where, at that very time, our pictures were being produced. The map shows, from left to right, the villages of Yamashina, Shinomiya, Yokoki, Oiwake and Ōtani stretching some four miles along the post road toward the great lake called Biwa. Farms and inns and little shops lined the road, with pleasant shade trees and refreshment for man and beast. The ancient capital city of Kyōto had been left a half a dozen miles behind before the ridge of *Ōsaka-yama* was reached. There was the barrier, famous in song and story, where entering travellers paused to unfold their town clothes to make brave entry and put aside their travel-worn garments, where proud Barons on their way to the Imperial court must marshal their straggling ranks and furl their household banners to show that none but the Emperor's flag could fly so near to the palace. Country carts and staggering coolies were laden with farm produce for the metropolis and must jostle through the gate. Here, fugitives from city justice were held up and, nearby, the heads of malefactors were exposed for warning.

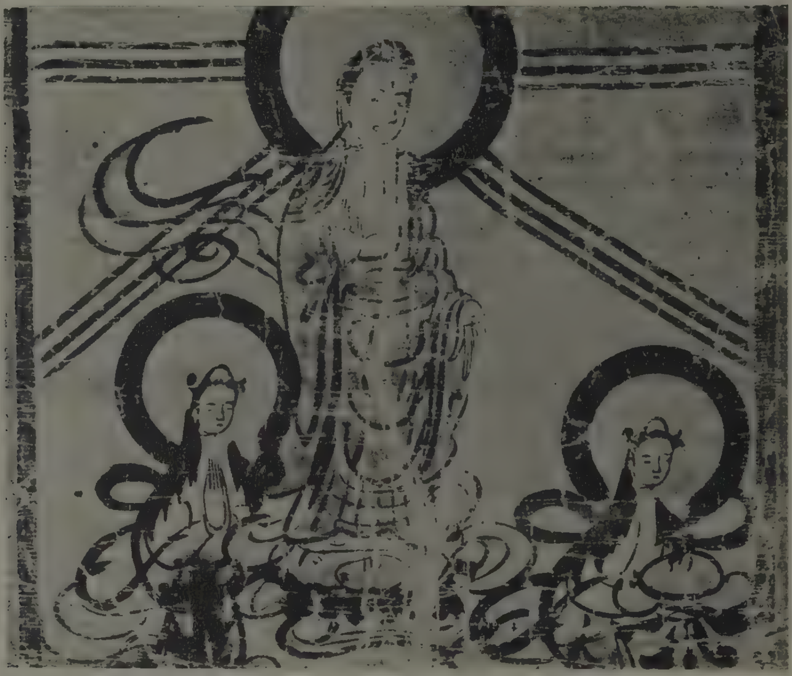


FIG. 4. SANZON BUTSU. COLLECTION OF MR. HIRAI

The congestion of the traffic at the barrier meant a rich harvest for beggars and hawkers, sellers of tea and straw sandals with an occasional cut-purse who mingled with the crowd. Beyond, and visible from the ridge, was the broad blue stretch of Lake Biwa dotted with fishermen's sails, familiar even to the provincial on his first trip to the city, though he might know it only through the cheap prints of its famous eight views or from crude paintings that had reached his village.

This then was the scene where our Ōtsu paintings were produced, by the roadside near the great barrier in the suburbs of the straggling town of Ōtsu—two little hamlets named Oiwake and Ōtani. One could almost predict that Ōtsu-e would be simple things sold to a 'prentice for a farthing or snatched from a heap of similar ones weighted down with a stone to save them from being scattered by the wind. The scene at such a parting of the ways is shown in Figure 34. The road is crowded with palanquins and burden-bearers, pilgrims, animals and important personages jostling each other coming and going. Best of all, the artist has included the shop of a painter of Ōtsu-e—the second booth on the left—in front of which four travellers have stopped to look and to bargain. There, when the great lord's escort was reforming to enter the city the pikeman would toss down his penny for a coloured drawing that illustrated his favorite song or catch, or when the crofter had sold his faggots in Kyōto and was returning, light of shoulder but heavier in purse, he would buy a Buddhist picture to paste on the clay wall of his house.

Where the roads spread out at the very gates of the capital such souvenirs were bought by the thousand and thence they spread to the very furthest provinces. Pilgrims, bagmen, strolling players and returning soldiers spread them. They were cheap and no burden to travellers, they were homely in subject and in manner, nothing was so fit as these drawings of Ōtsu to please the common taste. Today they are rarities and the few which by accident have come down to us are purchased at great price. Yet even two and a half centuries ago these drawings exerted their charm; there is mention of them in poetry of the period and, as we have seen, they were recognized as an integral part of peasant life.

Our earliest document concerning this school—if it may be so called—of art dates from the Kwan-Bun era (1667–72 A. D.) when a learned priest, Menzan of the Zen[2] sect, recorded the following story of Tōsui, a holy man of the same sect. This Tōsui was an ascetic friar who lived like a beggar in a narrow alley between the granaries near the town of Ōtsu. One day some pack-horse men gathered before his hovel and in their talk with him showed surprise that he had no image of Buddha—"For," said they, "those who have no Buddhist picture or statue are suspected of being Christian."[3] To this Tōsui answered, "But I fear that the Buddha would be unhappy in such a place for I have neither bread nor good water." Next day one of the horse-boys brought the friar a picture of the saving Amida, made by the roadside at Ōtsu, and insisted on leaving it, though the old man complained that his room was too narrow to hang it. Nevertheless, the simple picture hung there in the hut by the roadside. Next day it was noticed that Tōsui had written with charcoal on the margin of the drawing:

Narrow though it is
I offer thee a room, O Amida.
But never think I do so
For the sake of my life to come.

This tale of the humble roadside priest is fragrant of the times he lived in. The gift of the horse-boys was a crude drawing, one of our Ōtsu-e, and the story goes far to prove that even in the middle of the seventeenth century these pictures were well known to ordinary people. The conclusion is that their origin goes at least back as far as the beginning of that century, though we have no evidence, tangible or intangible, to prove it.

That the early subjects were mainly if not invariably Buddhist is borne out not only by numerous literary references but also suggested by a verse cut on a roadside stone (Figure 40) on the outskirts of Ōtsu, by our great poet Bashō, on the fourth day of the first moon, 1691. Each new year all Japan paints, draws or writes a verse

---

[2] This sect are believers in direct communication and make small use of images.

[3] At this period Christianity was under strict ban.

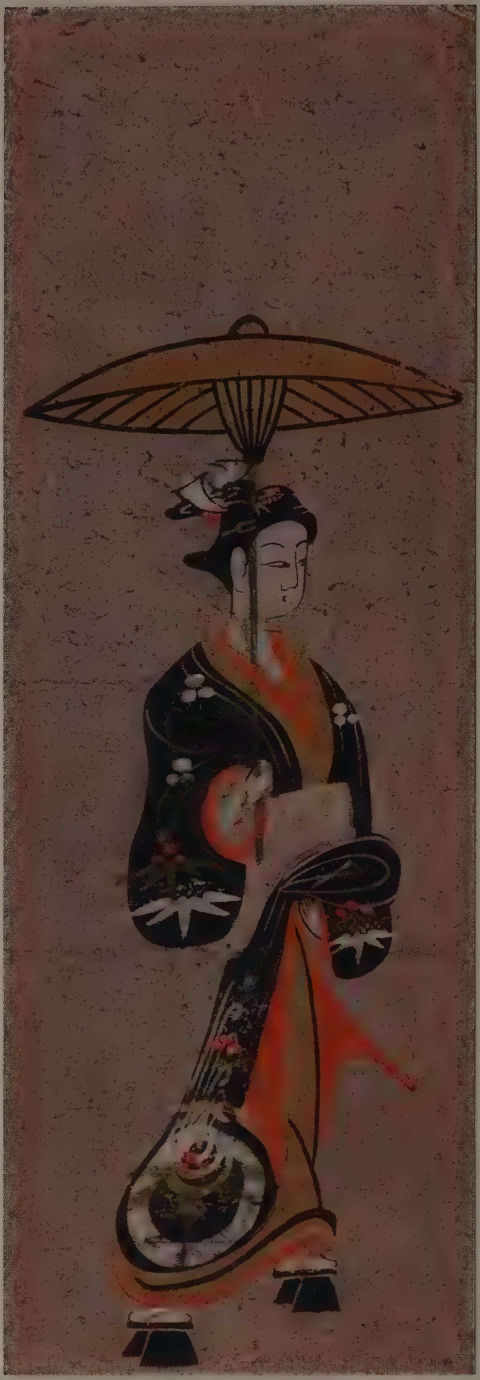


FIG. 5. KASA SASU ONNA
COLLECTION OF MR. R. UMEHARA

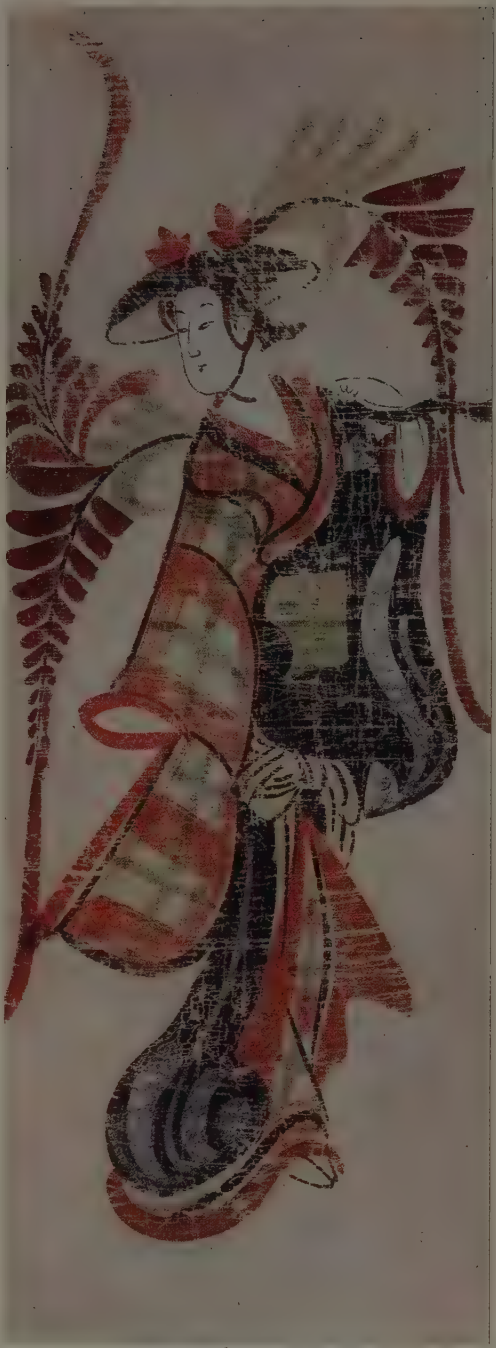


FIG. 6. FUJI MUSUME

PLATE III. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

on some subject, sometimes moral, often poetical or fanciful. This custom is called *O-kaki-zome*. Bashō's lines read:

> What Buddha now shall be
> The subject of an Ōtsu-e
> For a New Year Brush?

But few examples are left from those early days. They suffered from their very purpose—tacked to the wall in the smoke of the household shrines. Among the most popular during this exclusively Buddhist phase we know of four in particular:

Sanzon Butsu —The Buddha with two attendant Bodhisattva.
Amida —The deity of the Pure Land.
Jū San Butsu —Thirteen Buddhas.
Shō Men Kongō—Blue-faced Kongō.

The last on this list is the special guardian for travellers and would naturally have been popular at the cross-roads where so many set out each day from the capital to the provinces. I know of no other instance in Japan, except here at Ōtsu, of religious paintings which were produced entirely by laymen, and quite without the patronage of the church. The choice of deities is therefore particularly significant. It shows the demand which existed among the peasants and does not reflect the subjects which necessarily would have been singled out by the priests for popular instruction.

It was, however, as early as 1680 that a chance passage in a book by Saikaku makes it clear that 'by that time' Buddhist subjects were not chosen to the exclusion of all others; and twenty-five years later Chikamatsu, our master dramatist, makes it obvious that they were less and less popular. In 1709 a poetry book called *Oiwake-e* was published, entirely illustrated by Ōtsu pictures and, of the forty-two illustrations more than half are non-Buddhist. In 1780 the *Ōtsu Miyage* (Souvenir of Ōtsu) came out with thirty-six illustrations by the draughtsmen of the hour, no single one of which is religious. By 1814 Kyōden in his book "Antiquities" (*kottō shū*) informs us that at that time Buddhist Ōtsu paintings were not procurable and that no more were being produced.

But the craft was so lively and healthy a plant that it had not withered, it was merely insensibly shifting its position into the sun of popular favor and becoming mundane with the rest of the world. For the end of the seventeenth century saw the dawn of the great Genroku period when many of the great merchant families were founded, when apprentices had much to do with national taste. The painters of the Ukiyo-e school were engrossed in portraying the life of their fellow commoners—actors, courtesans and tradespeople, as well as the festivals and the landscapes that all the world flocked to see and loved to commemorate. Never before or since did our craft reach such a height of vivid draughtsmanship and of freedom. Never before had the wayfarer coming out of Kyōto been able to pick up such delightful pictures as were then being drawn at Ōtsu.

When Chikamatsu was bringing out his incomparable dramas, Kiyonobu was making his prints and, in a short time, his son, Kiyomasu, probably began to issue his. The Ōtsu craftsmen, however, were in no sense directly influenced by this other school, and if their work was no longer religious, it never became frankly vulgar. Their public still demanded abstractions and allegories and they were kept busy illustrating proverbial sayings, popular saws and the homely wisdom of the day.

A mere study of the list of titles used during this second period will not entirely serve to clear up the subject for the westerner—or even for the modern Japanese. Far too much has disappeared and changed to make it possible for us to comprehend everything. However, it is significant to notice that many of the Ōtsu-e take a satirical tinge, they personify common failings—greed, pride or insincerity. Many

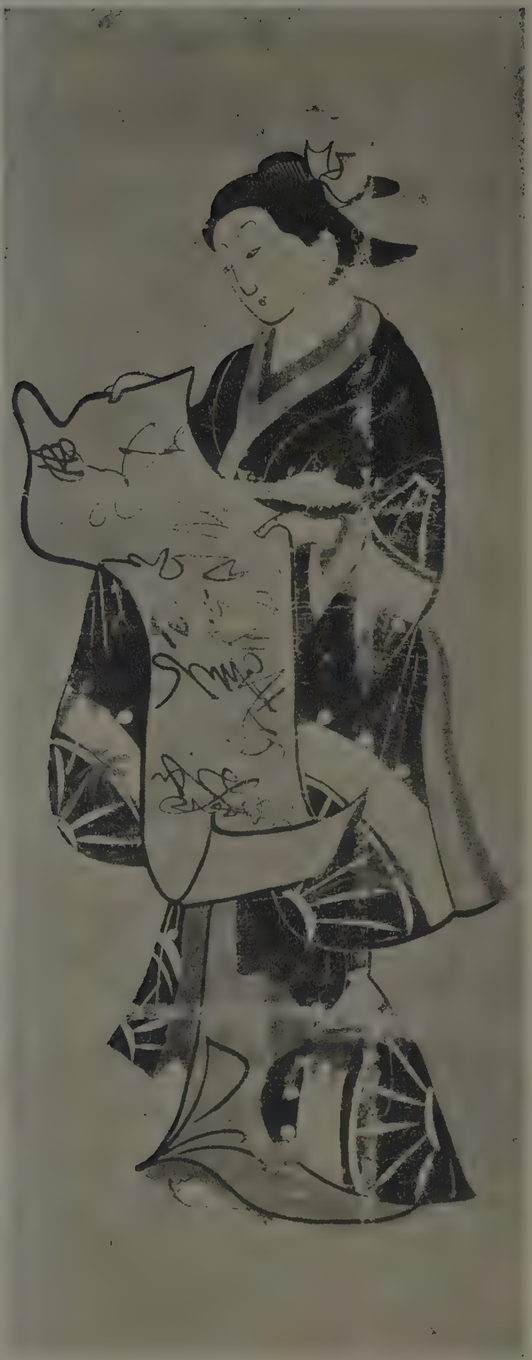


FIG. 7. FUMI YOMU ONNA
COLLECTION OF THE LATE MR. K. WATANABE

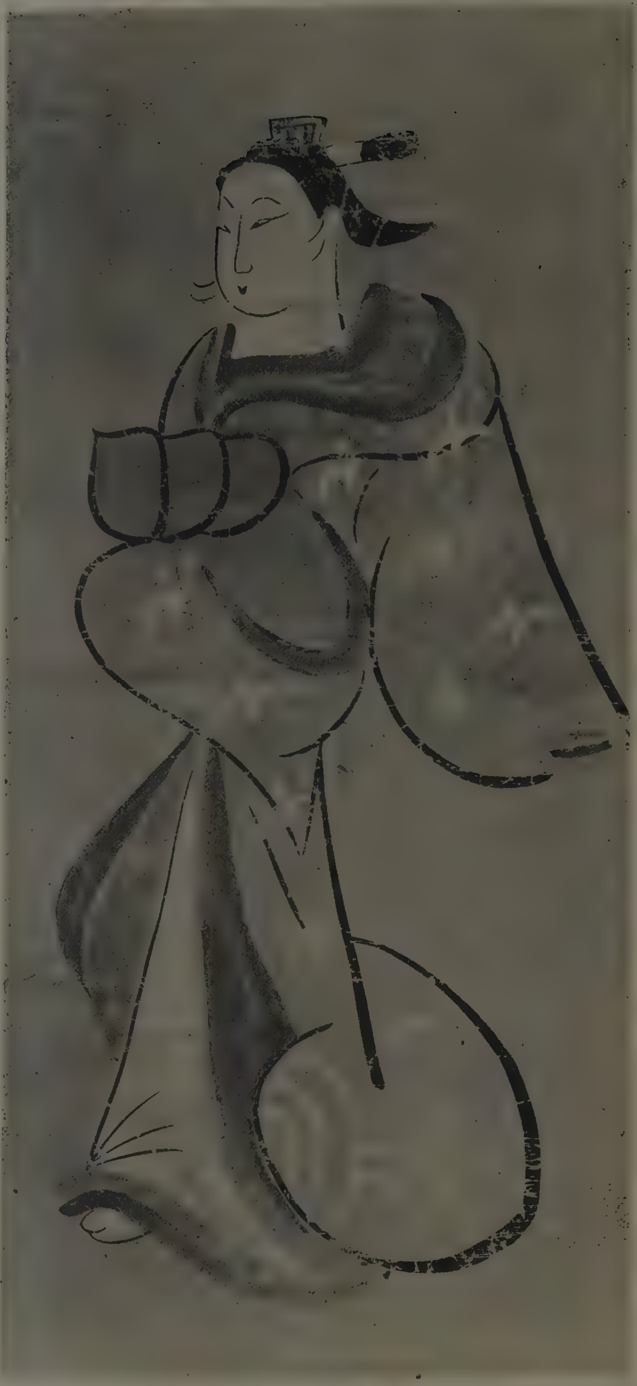


FIG. 8. TAYU

PLATE IV. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

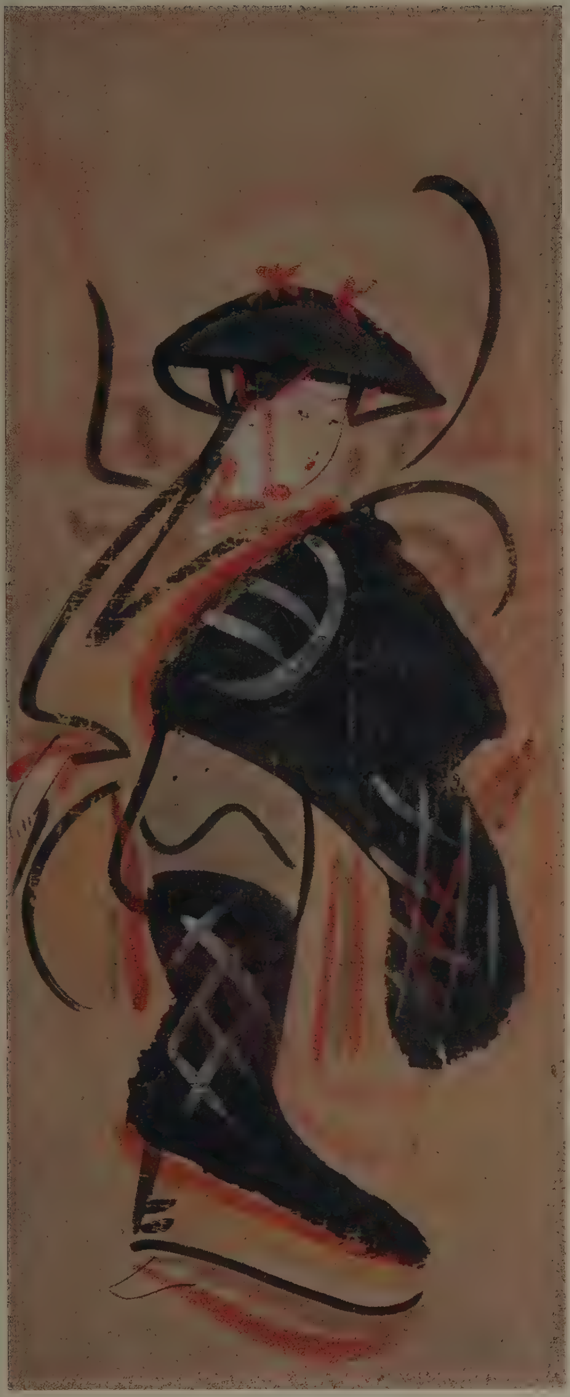


FIG. 9. FUJI MUSUME

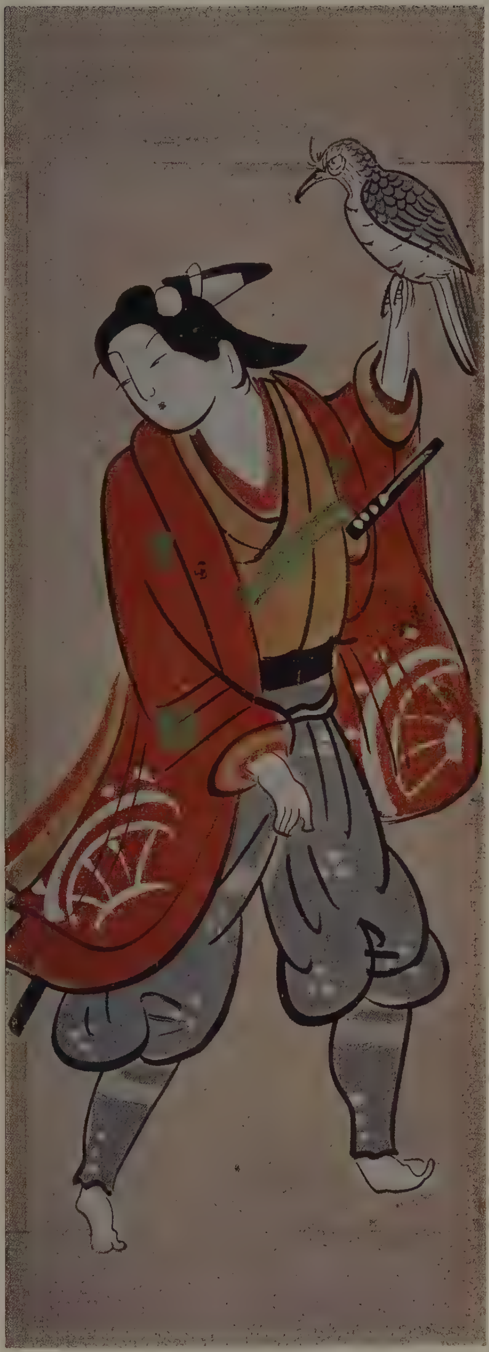


FIG. 10. TAKAJŌ

Plate V. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

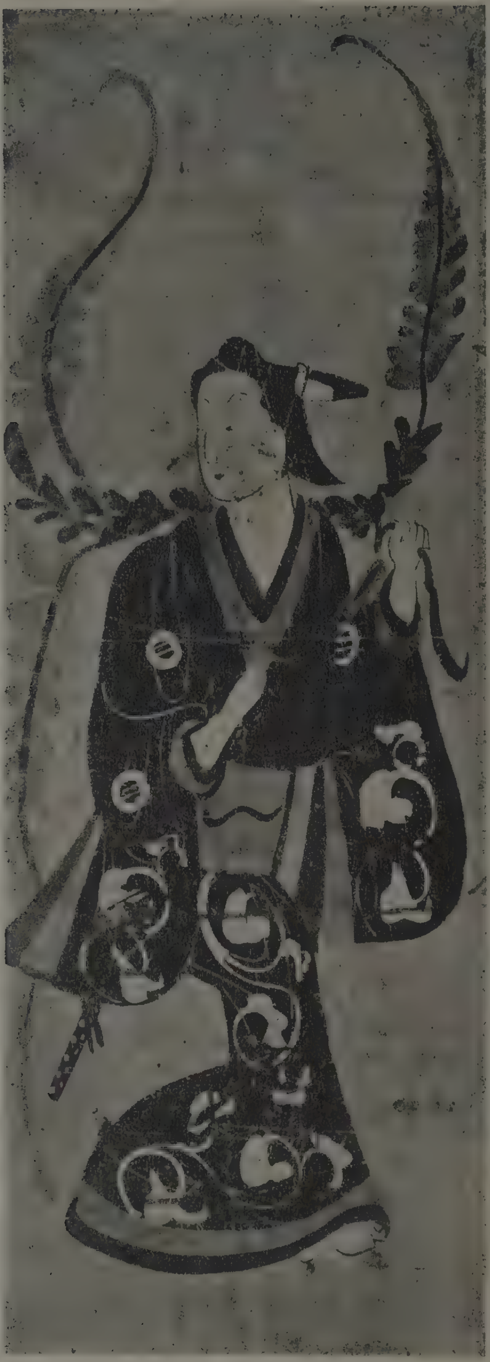


FIG. 11. FUJI WAKASHŪ
COLLECTION OF MR. N. MIURA

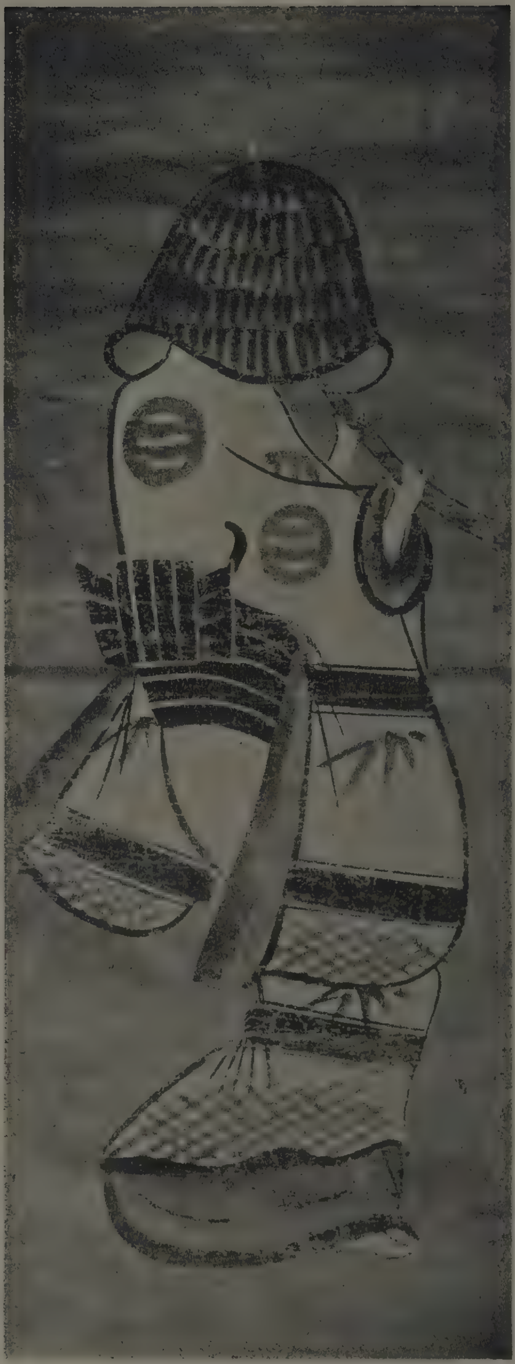


FIG. 12. ONNA KOMUSŌ
COLLECTION OF MR. N. MIURA

Plate VI. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

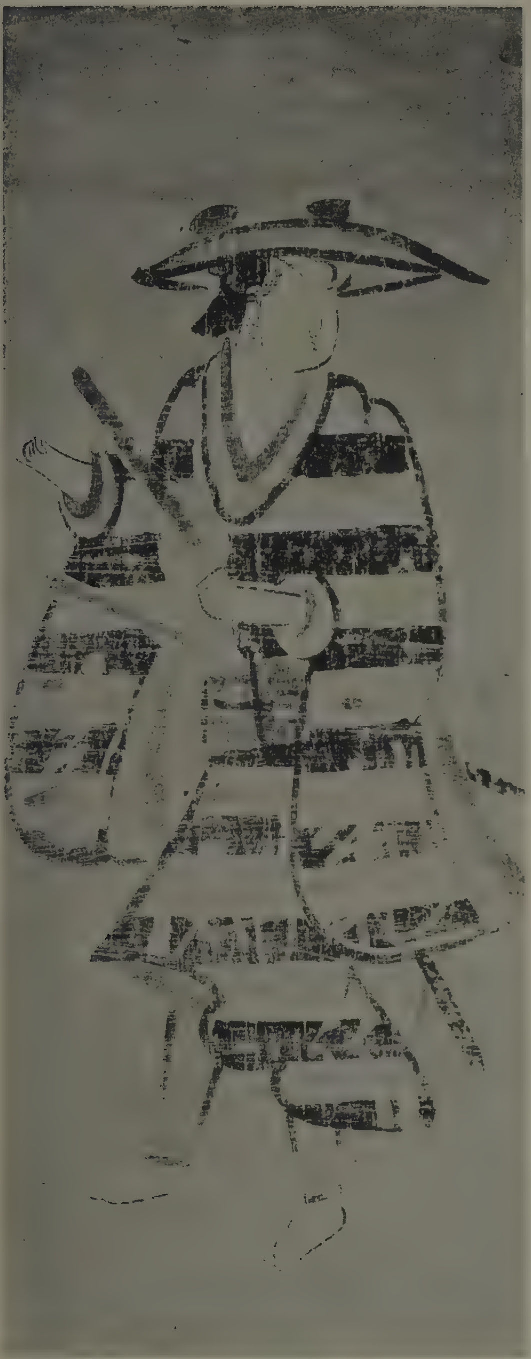


FIG. 13. KASA WAKASHŪ
COLLECTION OF MR. W. HAYASHI

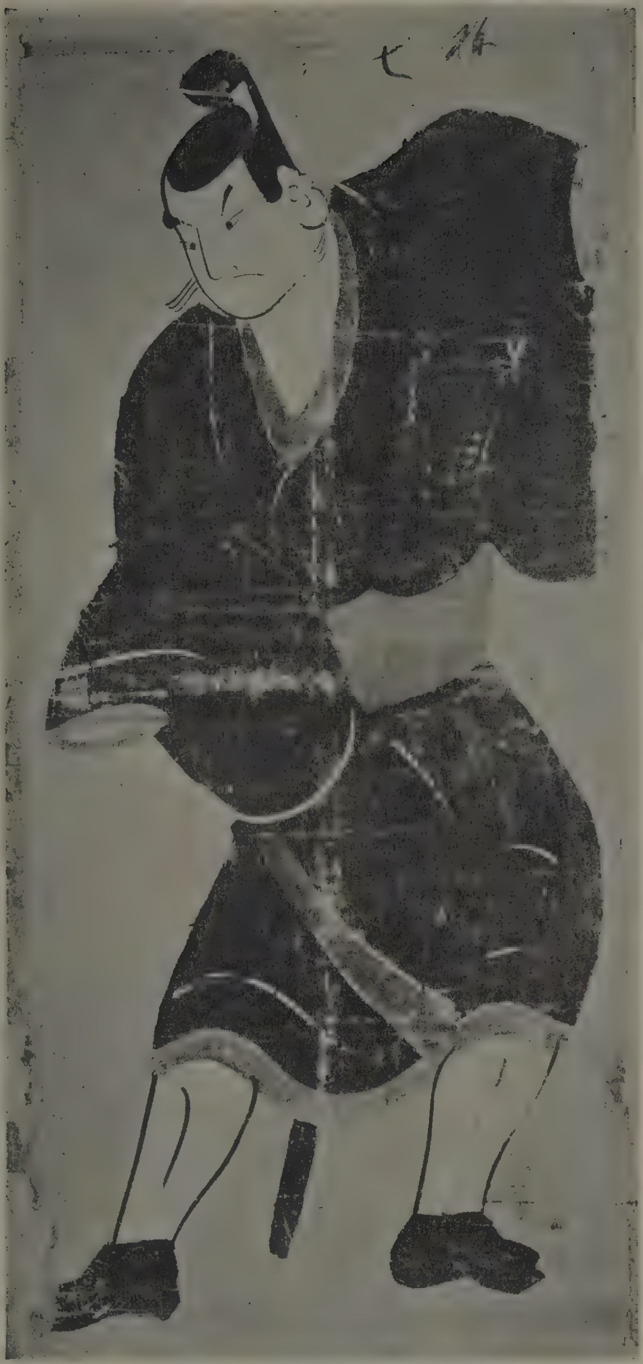


FIG. 14. YARI MOCHI YAKKO
COLLECTION OF MR. N. MIURA

Plate VII. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

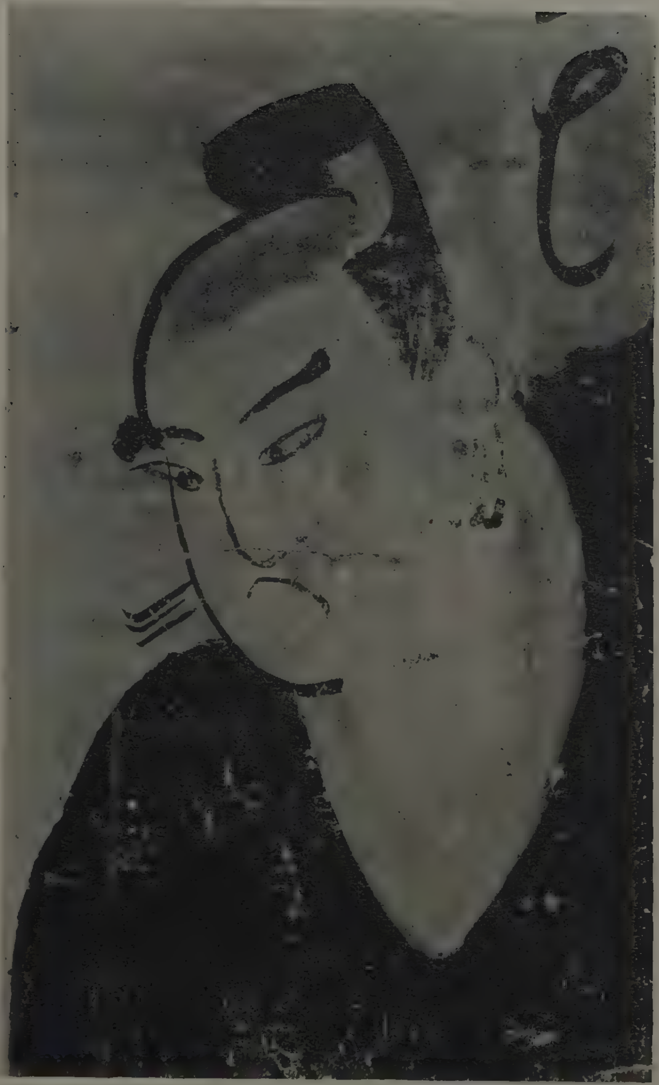


FIG. 15. AN-NO HEIBEI (DETAIL)
COLLECTION OF MR. T. YAMAMOTO

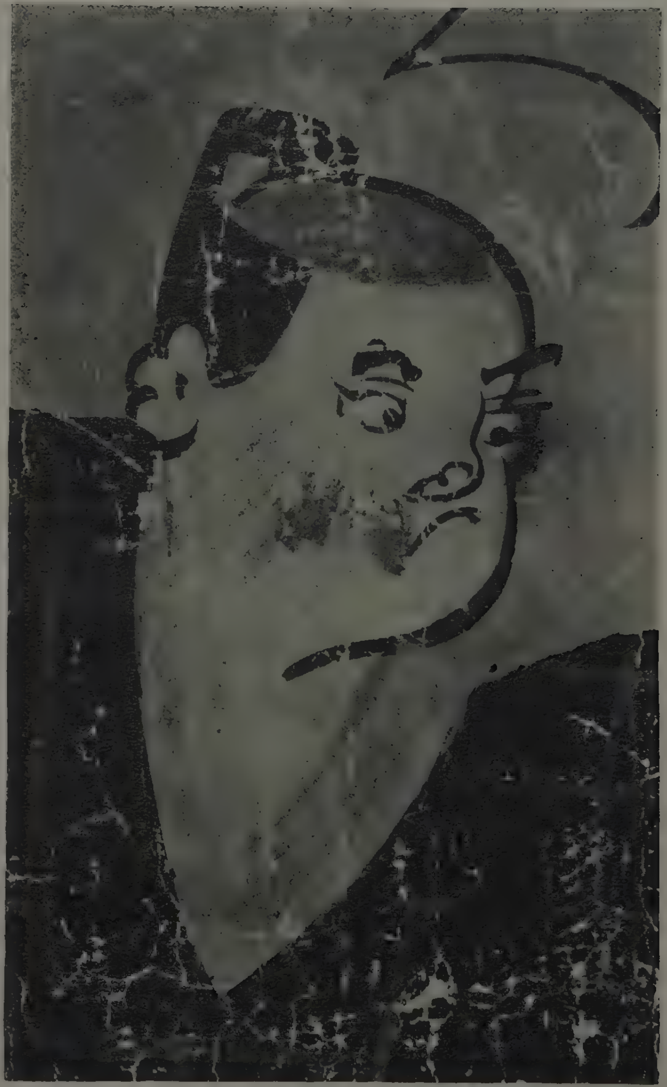


FIG. 16. KARIGANE BUNSH-ICHI (DETAIL)
COLLECTION OF MR. T. YAMAMOTO

PLATE VIII. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

of them seem to have had reference to contemporary events or to changing fashions and their complete elucidation is now hopeless.

Among the early secular subjects the following were common:

Nezumi No Yomeiri—Rat wedding, probably satirical.
Yarimochi Yakko —Standard bearer, symbolical of empty show without power.
Oni No Nembutsu —The devil's invocation—a pious act by an evil person.
Zatō —Blind man attacked by dog.
Fuji Musume —Wistaria maid.
Hyōtan Namazu —Monkey with gourd and catfish.
Otoko Date —Gang leader of chivalrous spirit,

Apparently the Ōtsu-e never were mere representations created for the sake of picture making or to show the artists' skill as were the Ukiyo-e and the prints, but always contained some hidden meaning, however slight. If these early secular paintings seem all to have contained some element of satire, those of the next stage are definitely didactic and moral. Old and new themes were used, and among the latter are commonly found:

Hato —Doves, the birds of decorum and propriety.
Oniwa Soto —Exorcising devils.
Tengu To Zō —Elephant and long-nosed man measuring their noses—the test of the proud.
Kitsune Onna—Fox girl, the beauty with the spirit of a fiend.
Niwa Tori —Cock and hen, symbols of early rising.

Often the folk songs and sayings illustrated by the pictures were written on the margins. These are so slight and tenuous that few of them will bear the strain of translation. The following examples will, however, be obvious enough:

Oni No Gyōzui—The devil's bath:

He who washes his skin
Goes quite unbathed
If he does not cleanse his mind.

Kaminari To Yakko—Man and lightning flash:

From thunderbolt one may escape
But from his own sin who can flee?

Tō—Buddhist pagoda:

This is but to show
We too can stand firm as a tower
If our minds are Buddha pure.

By the first decade of the nineteenth century these moral pictures seem to have lost their vogue at Ōtsu. The pictures were neither religious, satirical nor moral as they had been in their former stages, they were now sold purely as charms appealing to the superstitious, and the subjects were restricted to ten. This restriction seemed to have been none the less strong because it was merely a matter of the demand—only what was expected from the craftsmen of Ōtsu. Its cause is not quite certain, but in some odd way it was connected with a popular song called *Ōtsu-e bushi* which listed these ten subjects and to the modern ear seems to have small significance. It is not quite determined whether it was the song itself which restricted the Ōtsu pictures to ten subjects or whether, this limit already having become a fact, the song[4] records it. Whichever is the case, the well seems to have dried up. The subjects and manner of painting lack interest. The pictures were drawn at

---

[4] This song appeared in print for the first time in 1807, contained in an anthology called *Sui no bento*, but it is obvious that it had been popular for some decades before that date.

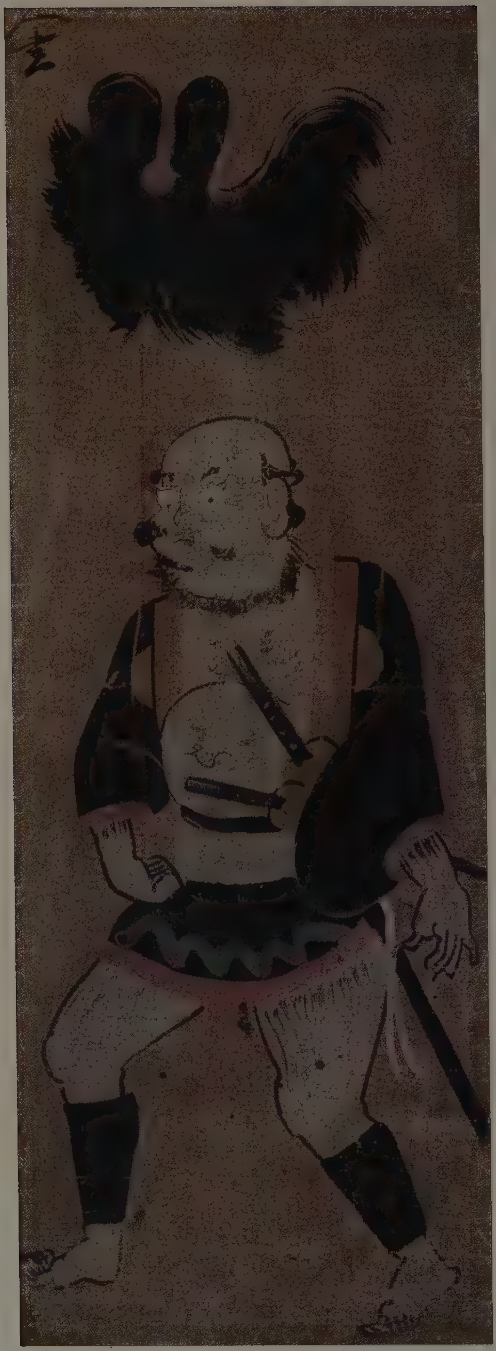


FIG. 17. YARIMOCHI YAKKO
COLLECTION OF MR. N. MIURA

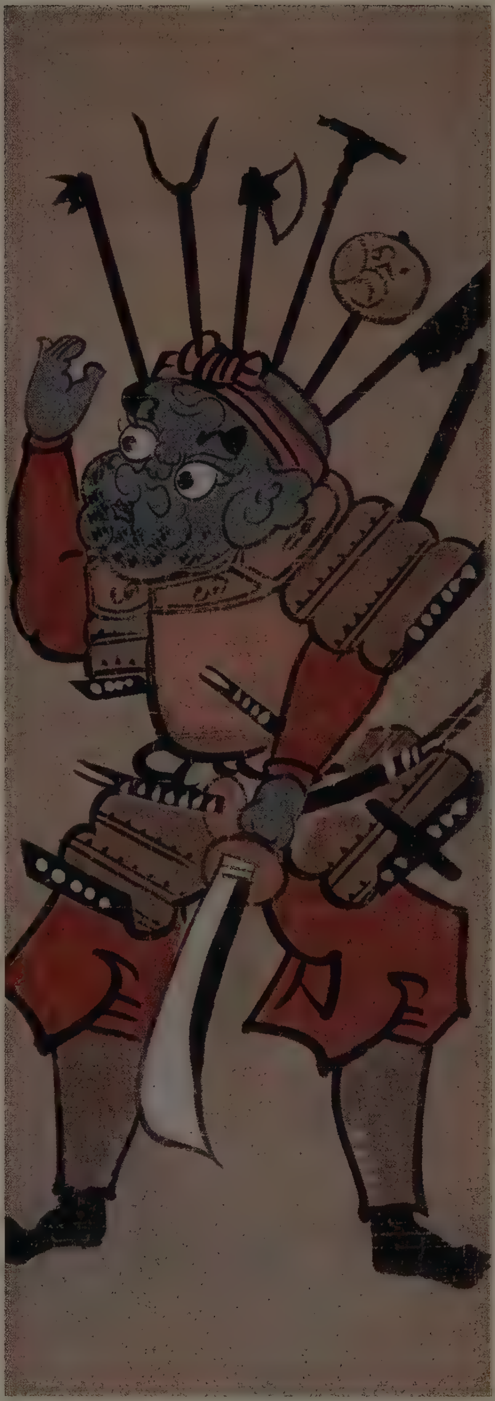


FIG. 18. NAGINATA BENKEI

PLATE IX. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

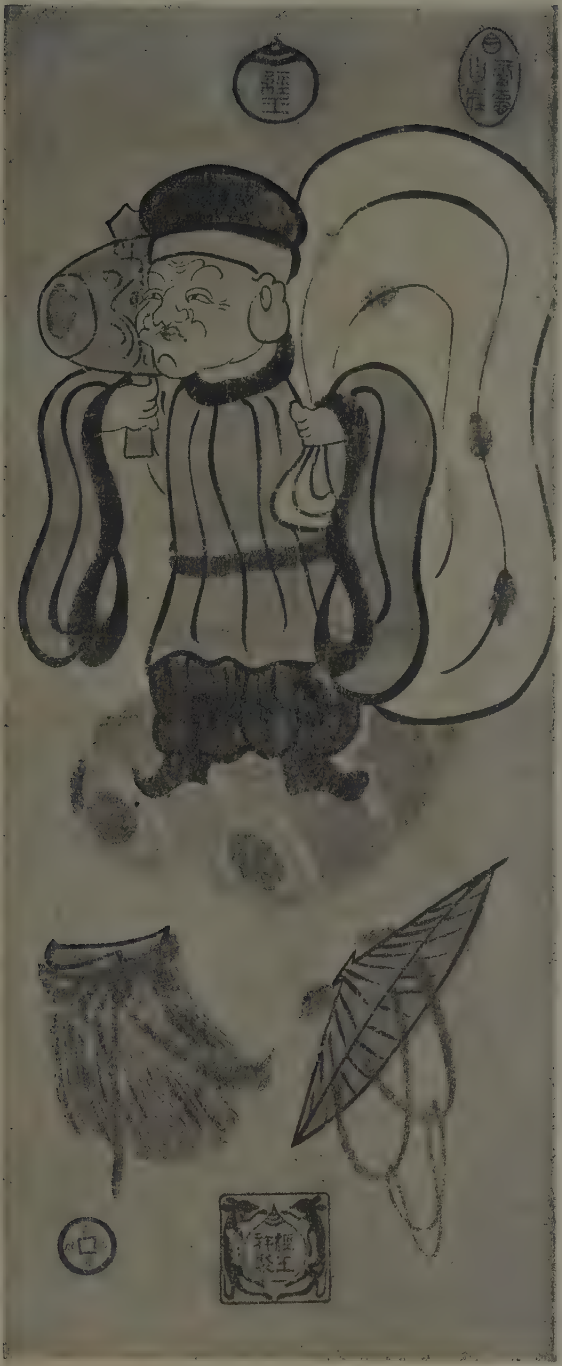


FIG. 19. DAIKOKU
COLLECTION OF MR. K. YAMAMURA

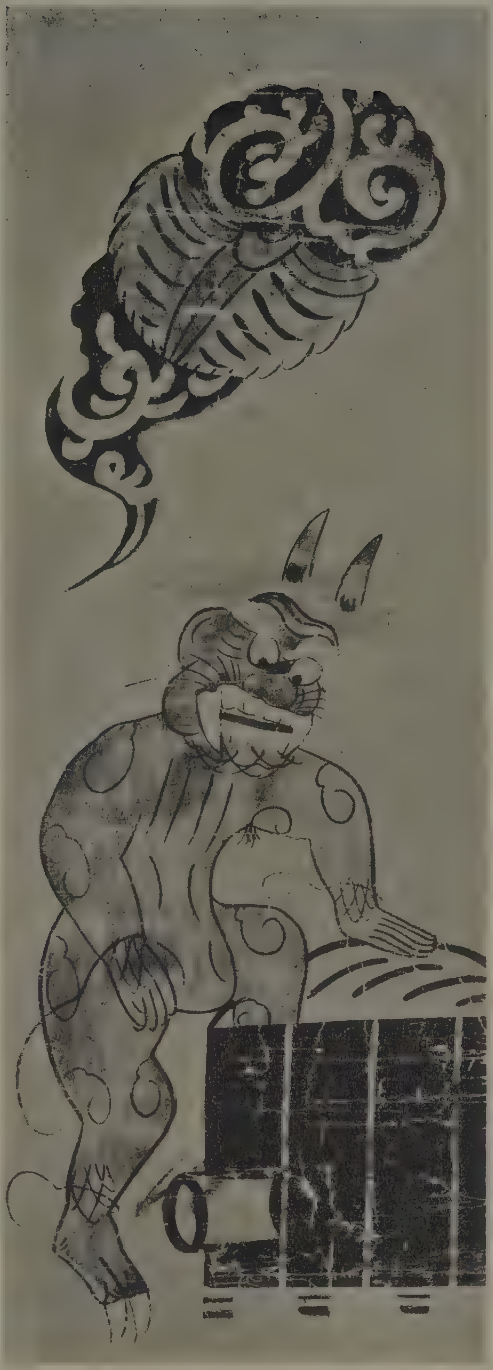


FIG. 20. ONI NO GYŌZUI
COLLECTION OF MR. K. WATANABE

Plate X. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

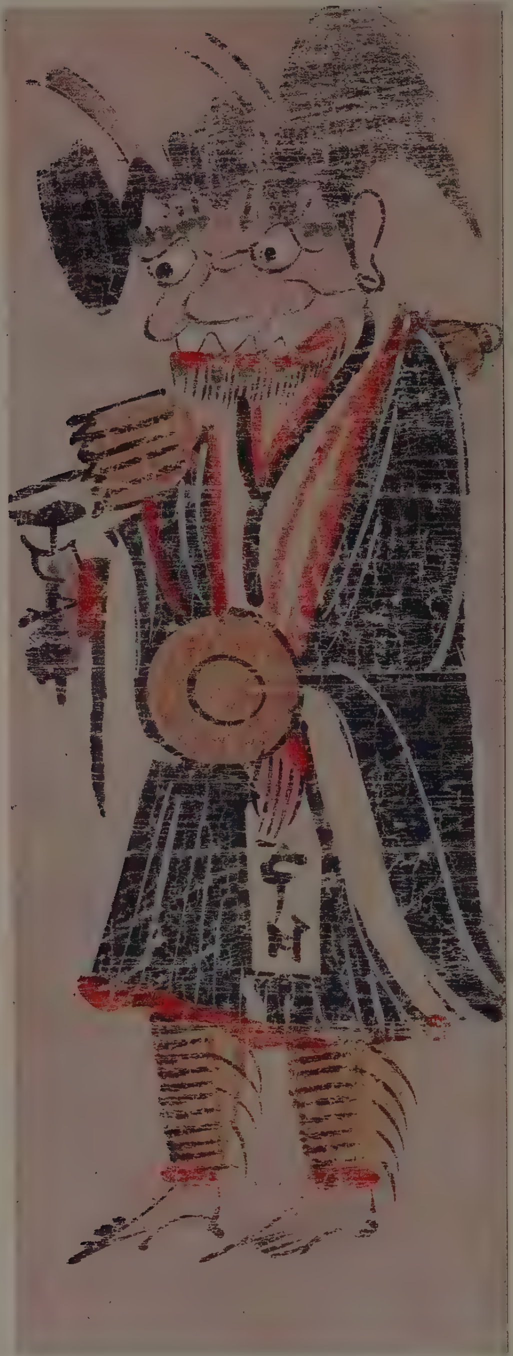


Fig. 21. ONI NO NEMBUTSU

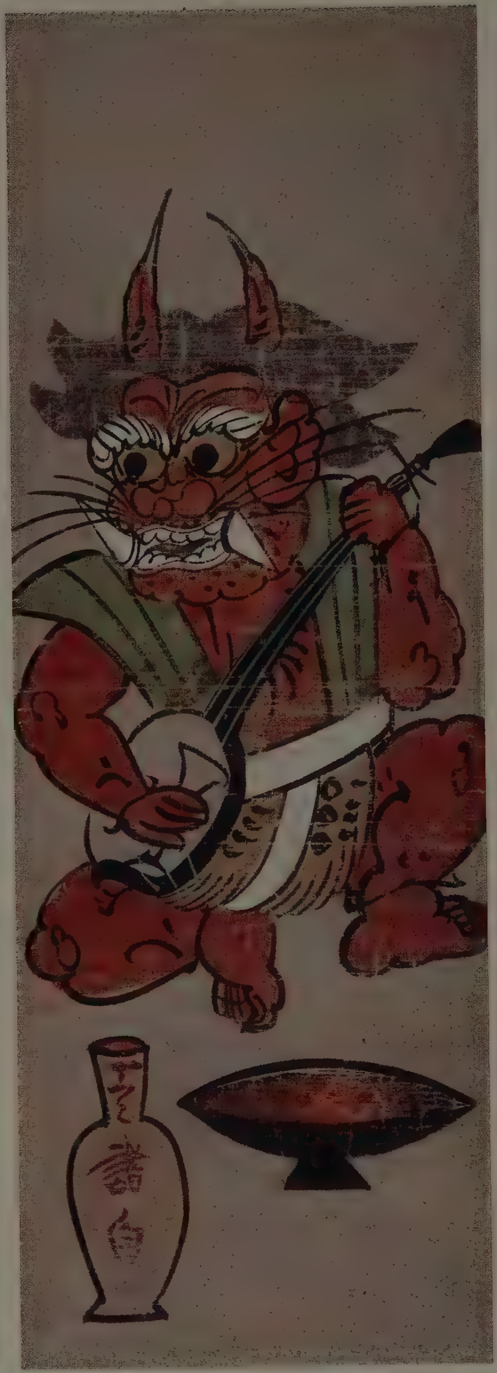


FIG. 22. ONI NO SAMISEN

Plate XI. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

random, became too crude and lost their vital quality. These ten subjects which mark the final phase of Ōtsu-e production are:

Geho Hashigo Zuri—Jurōjin, deity of long life, being shaved by Daikoku, who climbs a ladder to reach Jurōjin's high forehead.
Kaminari To Taiko —Thunder god with his drum.
Taka Jō —The falconer.
Fuji Musume —The wistaria maid.
Zatō —The blind man and the dog.
Oni No Nembutsu —The devil's invocation.
Hyōtan Namazu —Catfish and gourd.
Yarimochi Yakko —Standard bearer.
Tsurigane Benkei —Benkei, the warrior with the great bell.
Yanone Gorō —Gorō, the archer.

Some of these subjects were left over from the previous periods (though none from the era of Buddhist subjects), and some were creatures of the day. But the interpretations were quite apart from the former meanings. They were neither satires of human failings, nor didactic proverbs, but sheer superstition and sold for charms.

An unknown draughtsman of Ōtsu of the later period, stamped on the margin of his paintings the words, "Tosa student"—probably half proud and half apologetic. Stylistically speaking, he was indeed correct in thus defining the whole output of the villages between Lake Biwa and the capital. For the aristocratic school of Tosa is one branch of the *Yamato-e* indigenous Japanese art, and these Ōtsu paintings are their country cousins. So, too, the genre paintings of the *Ukiyo-e* school and the still more familiar prints by the Ukiyo masters are true Yamato-e and, if you like, a new form of Tosa, dealing with the lives of common people and produced by commoners. The age of Tokugawa, when the Ōtsu painters flourished was, above all things, the age of commoners. In their hands rested the culture of the times—literature, music, painting and the crafts.

In the Ashikaga period culture was dominated by the academicians, in the Kamakura times by warriors and in the Fujiwara period by the nobles—no such manner of draughtsmanship, no such series of subjects as we find in the Ōtsu pictures could ever have prospered in those earlier periods. These with which we deal seem to have sprung from the very soil itself.

Appropriately enough no single artist can be made responsible for the Ōtsu pictures. Matabei (or Matahei) is traditionally their father. But, though he undoubtedly had much to do with the beginnings of the Ukiyo school (and hence with the print makers) there is no record of his ever having drawn Buddhist subjects such as comprised the bulk of the early Ōtsu work. The origin of this fallacy rests on an imaginary character, known as Domo-no Matahei of Ōtsu, in a play by Chikamatsu. This character painted *Ōtsu-e* of various subjects. So vivid has the dramatist made the rôle that it is useless to try to persuade the average person that no such person ever existed. The drama was published in 1705, and it is the more pity that it is pure fiction because it contains the first documentary reference to the pictures of Ōtsu. Twenty-five years after the publication of the play Samukawa, in his great geography and gazetteer of Omi Province, pointed out that it was not historical. Later, Kyōden writing "*Kinsei kiseki kō*," one of the best studies of the *Ōtsu-e*, though a brief one, arrives at the same conclusion. Thus we can but say the craft was the true product of the age itself—the result of some happy chance production that caught the popular fancy to perfection and was swung along in the great current of the life of the people till it had become indistinguishable from it. Samukawa

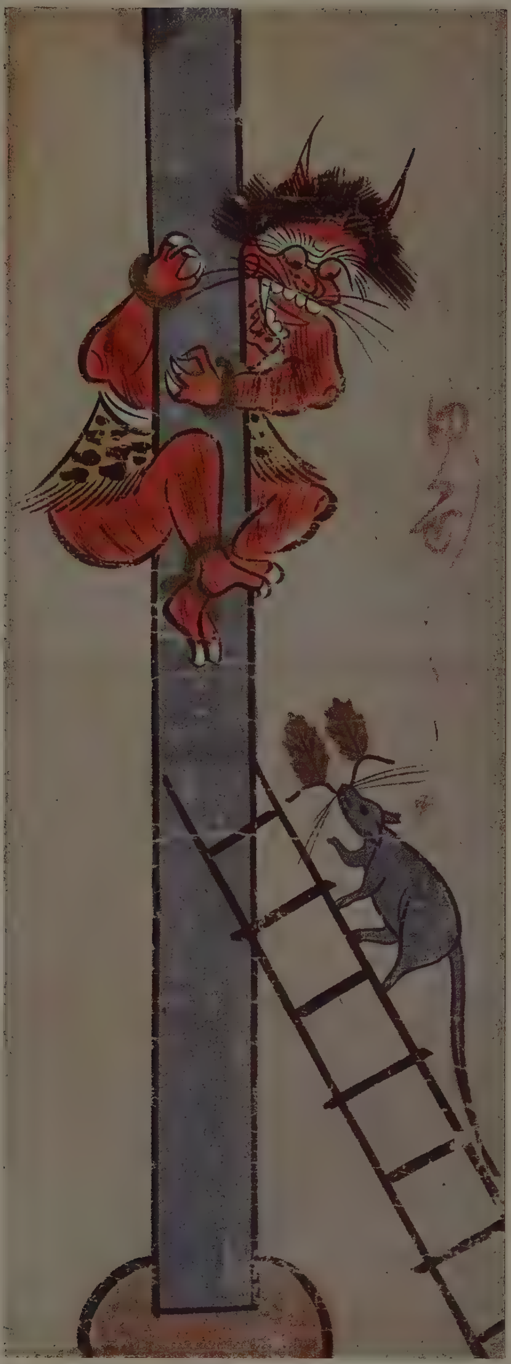


FIG. 23. ONI TO NEZUMI TO HIIRAGI
COLLECTION OF MR. N. MIURA

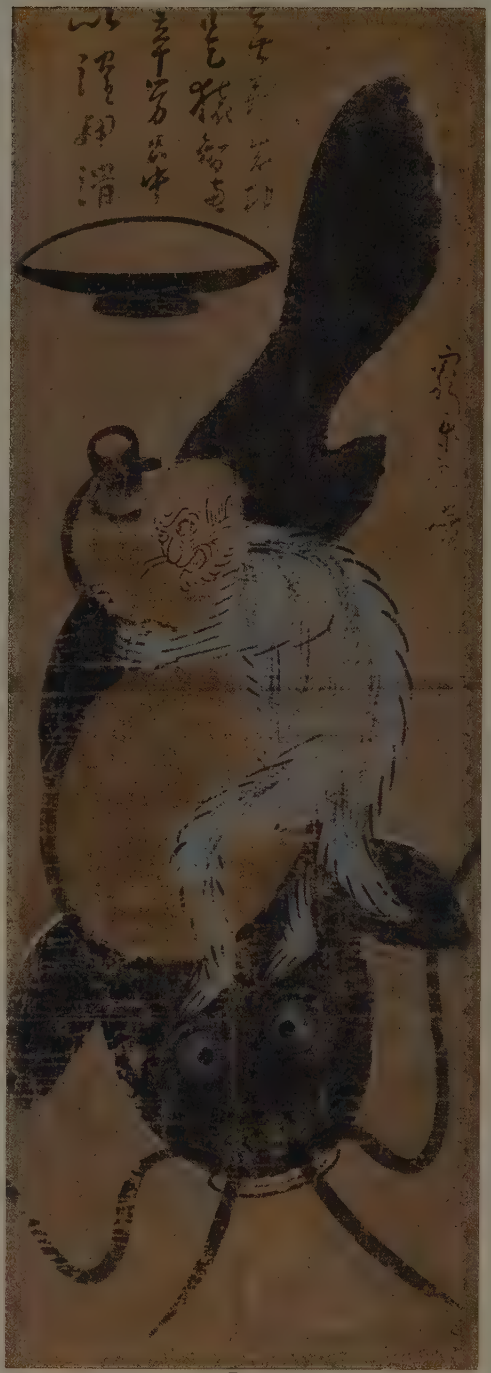


FIG. 24. HYŌTAN NAMAZU

PLATE XII. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

himself could say no more about it in 1730 than "The countrymen of Ōtani and Ōtsu painted and sold these drawings."

Two or three names of craftsmen (such as Gonji and Zeshin) are, however, handed down to us more by chance than because of any outstanding quality in their work. Such few paintings in this manner as were signed seem quite devoid of life, they represent the familiar subjects and are more or less in the traditional manner—but obviously they were drawn by copyists. True Ōtsu-e were made by the seller and often worked on by all the members of his household. Sometimes one member had his favorite subjects and left the others to the brothers and sisters. Sometimes the outline was drawn by one and the colour added by others. No doubt in those peasant homes the broadsheets that we treasure today were often produced unwillingly, by lads in fear of the birch or by husbands wearied by nagging children and querulous wives.

No broadsides of the European middle ages could have been cheaper than these drawings that were sold to the travellers to and from the capital of Kyōto. A farthing tossed on the mat gave you your fancy. They were made on common brownish paper, and their proportion, and hence their composition, was governed by the papermaker's crude craft. The stock sheet was about a foot long and eight and a half inches wide. In the early period when Buddhist subjects were the only ones produced, two sheets were joined lengthwise and the composition resulting was about two feet long—always rendered vertically. Today forgeries can be detected when they lack this seam across the centre. By the beginning of the eighteenth century single sheets were in use and these smaller drawings were occasionally made to be hung horizontal. Larger pictures than two feet by eighteen inches are extremely rare and seem to have been produced only during the first period of Buddhist activity. (Figure 3). During the last and decadent period the sheets were often divided into thirds or even into quarters.

The pigments used and the manner of applying them were those common throughout the country for cheap drawings on paper, a technique called *doro enogu*, "clay paints." A pale yellowish clay called *ōdo* was spread in an even wash over the whole surface. When this was dry the broad silhouette of the design was painted in mineral colours, with outlines and details added last of all.

The simple palette consisted of:

ōdo —yellow clay
benigara —iron red
shu —mercury vermilion
byakuroku—greenish white
sumi —"India" ink
usuzumi —pale black
guzumi —gray
gofun —lime white
kin —gold, used only in early Buddhist drawings

The early examples were all made free-hand with a brush and the colours were never mixed. But in later years the influence of the print makers was felt to such a degree that their technique was adopted in certain cases. Sometimes straight lines and circles were made with mechanical aids and there are a few extant examples of the use of stencils. But on the whole it is the singularly free sweep of the craftsman's brush which we admire in these swift drawings. Laborious transfer of that sweep to a carved wooden block and thence to the paper by means of a colour swab and a burin defeats its own purpose.

It was characteristic of this traditional craft that, in its early days of exclusively Buddhist subjects, the purchaser was supplied with picture and conventional mounting, all complete. True, the silk top and bottom bands, the brocade borders and the two flaps that hang from the top were all somewhat crudely represented by the brush on the same sheet of paper—but they satisfied the tradition and gave the little picture an air of its own. Last of all a bamboo stick on which the *kakemono*

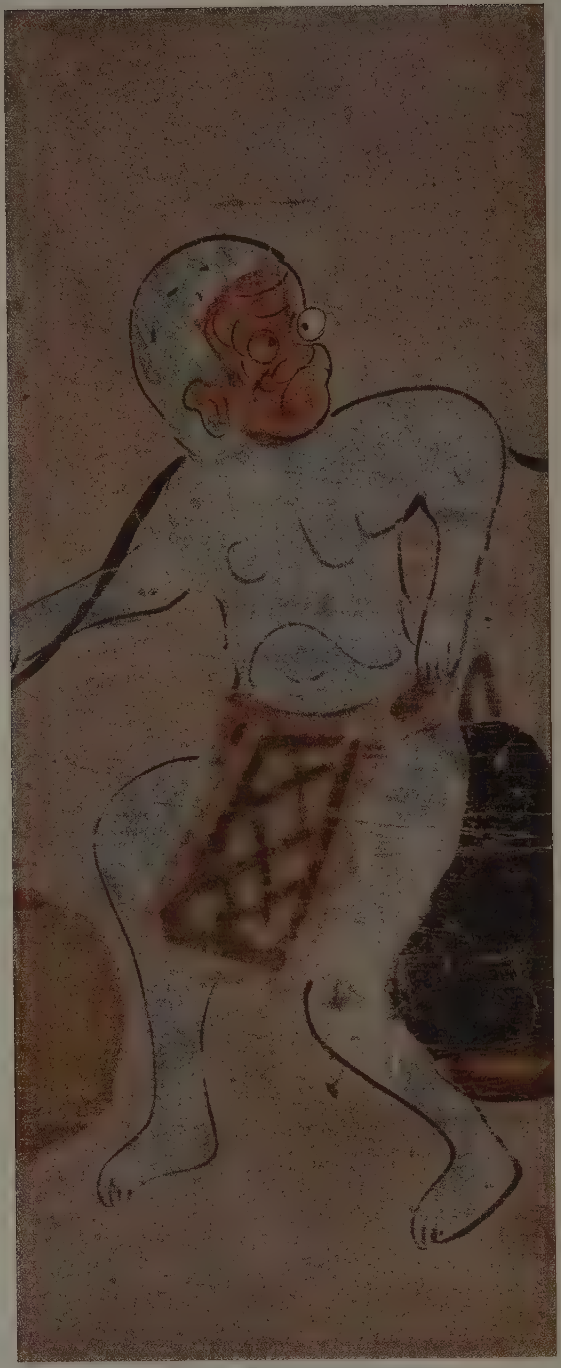


FIG. 25. CHŌCHIN TSURIGANE

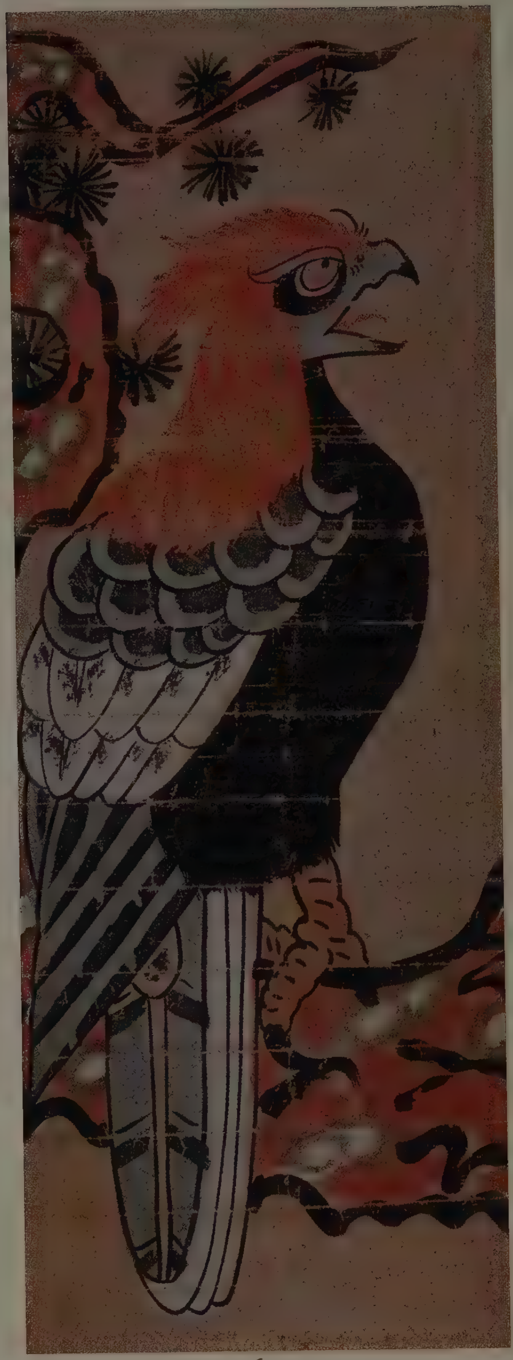


FIG. 26. WASHI

PLATE XIII. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

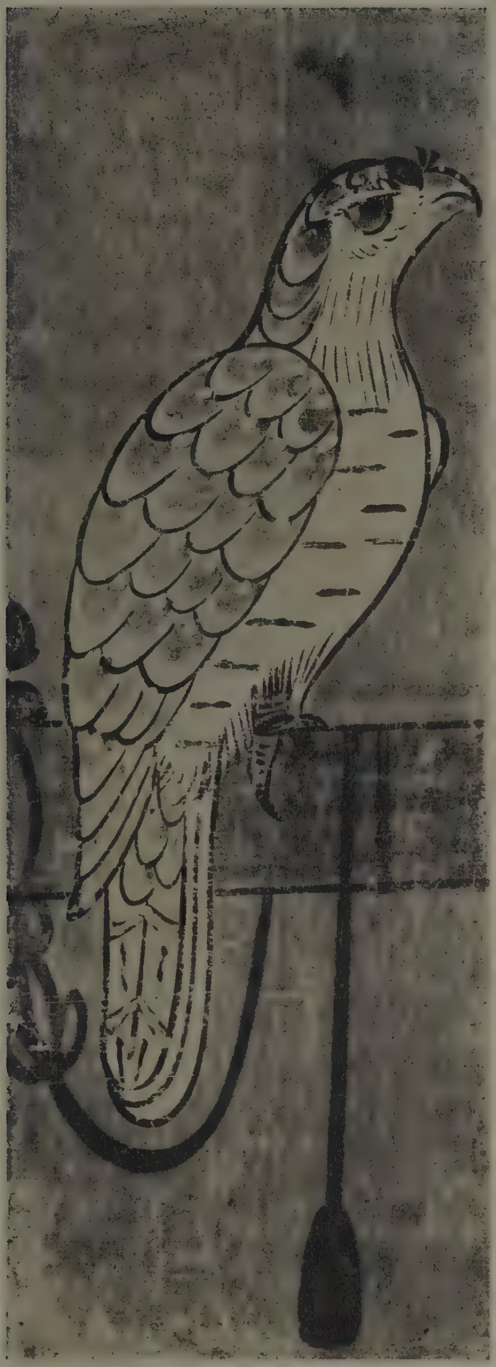


FIG. 27. TAKA
COLLECTION OF MR. N. MIURA

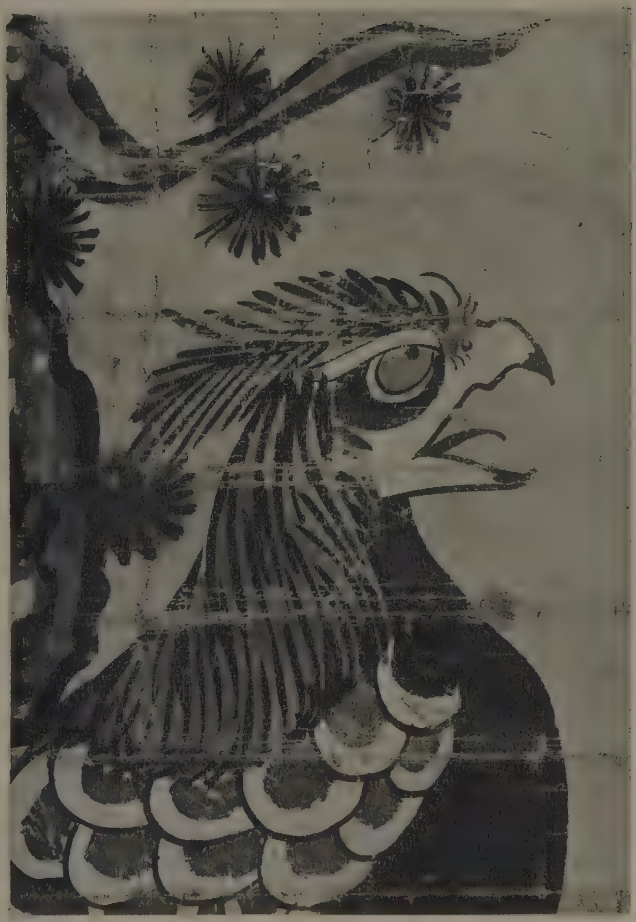


FIG. 28. DETAIL OF WASHI
(CF. FIG. 26)

Plate XIV. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

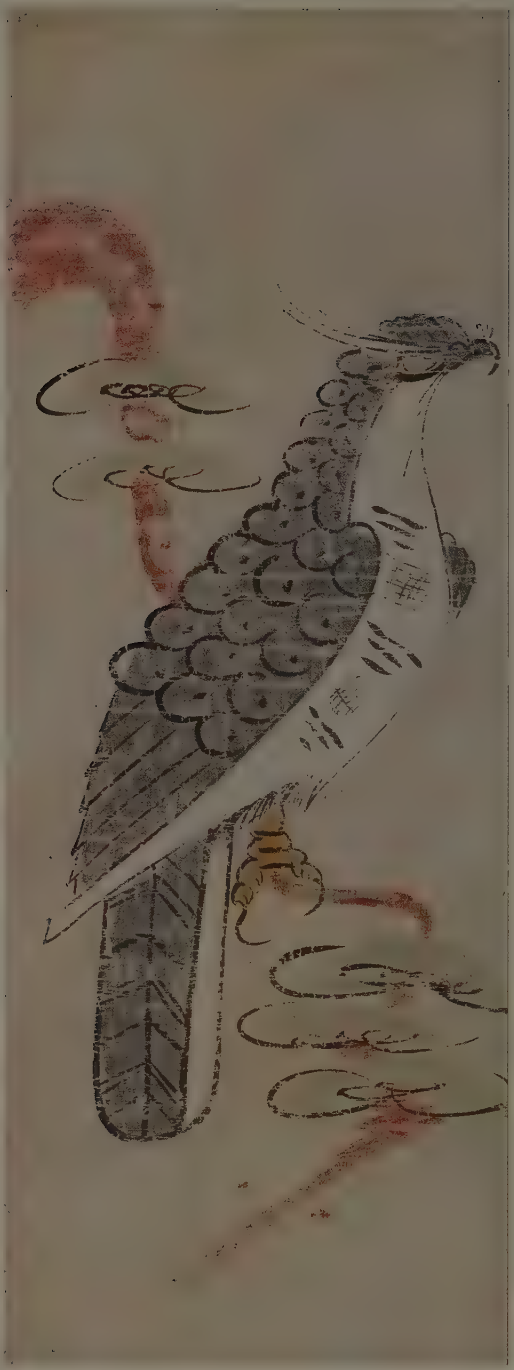


FIG. 29. HAYABUSA

Plate XV. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

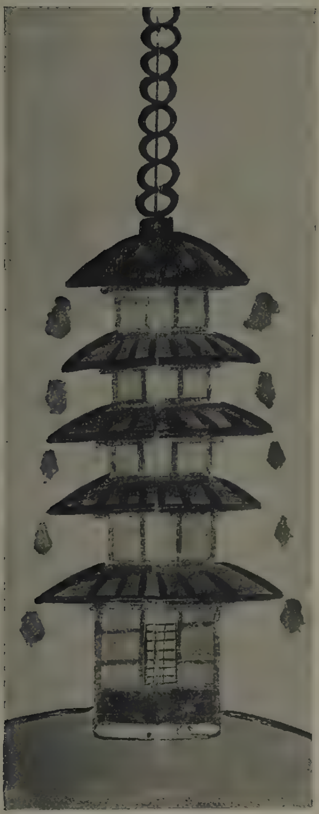


FIG. 30. TŌ

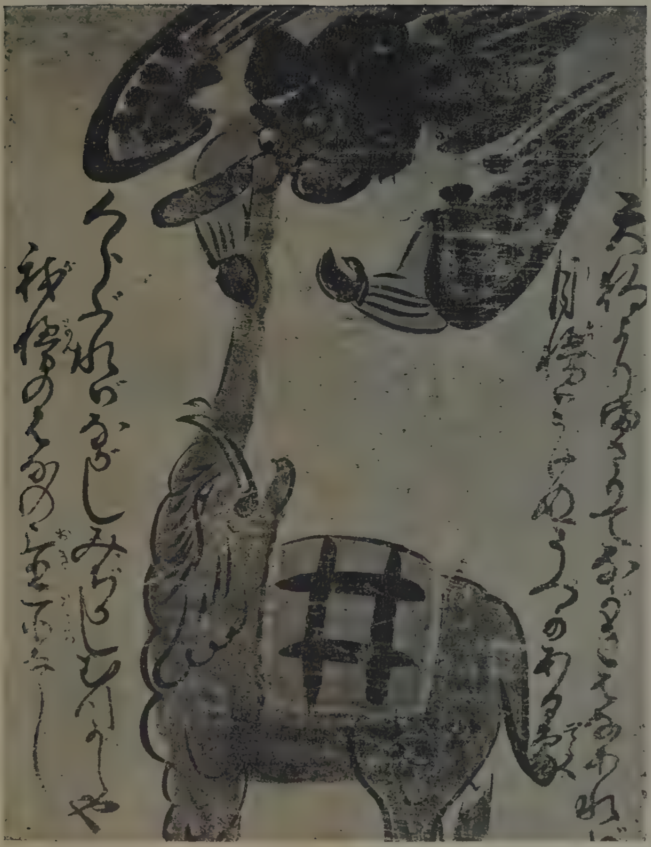


FIG. 32. TENGU TO ZŌ

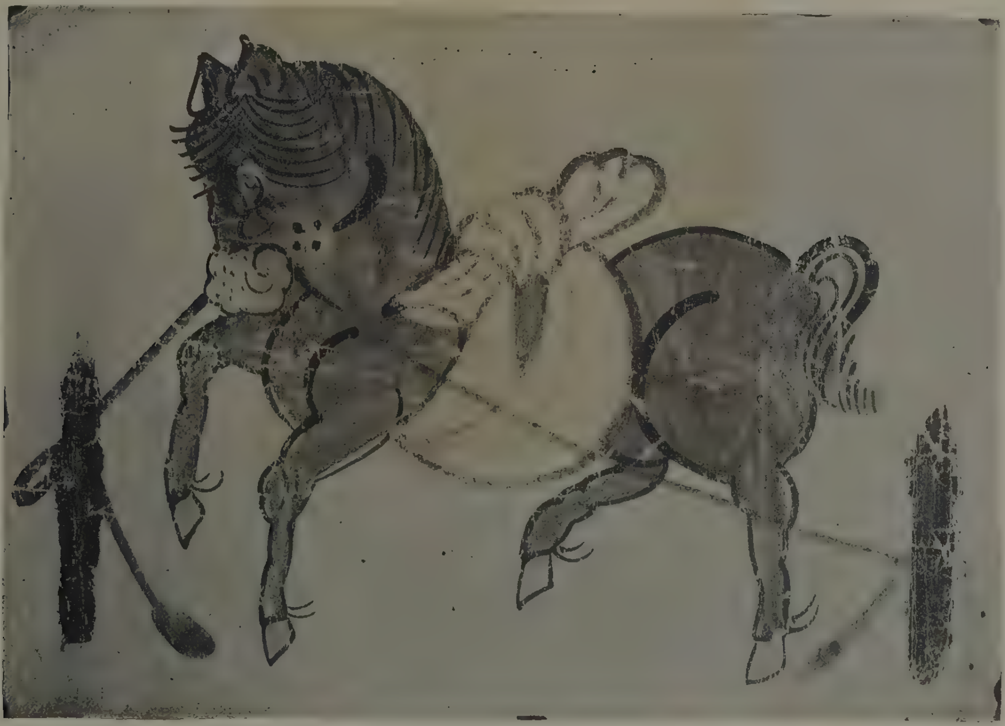


FIG. 31. SHIMME. COLLECTION OF MR. S. NAJANO

PLATE XVI. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

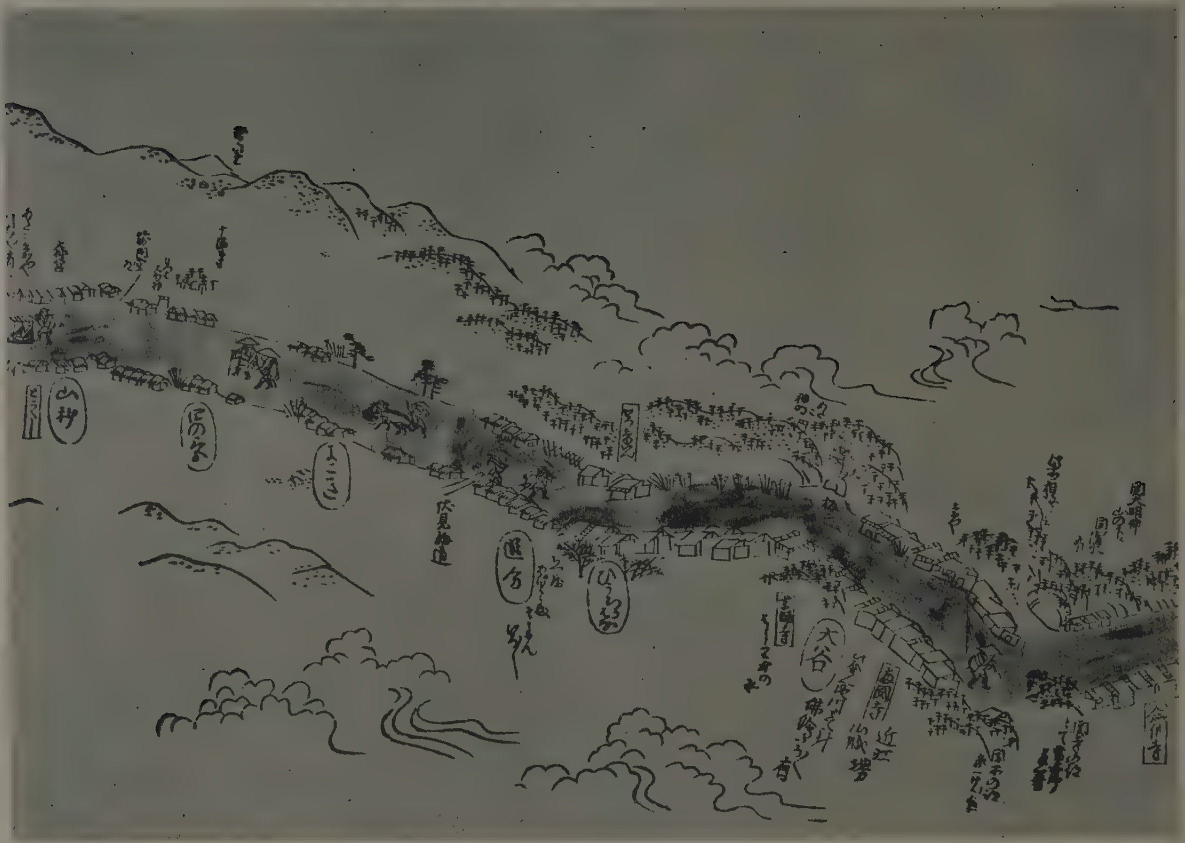

山科
伏見海道
追分
大谷
近江

FIG. 33. MAP BY MORONOBU

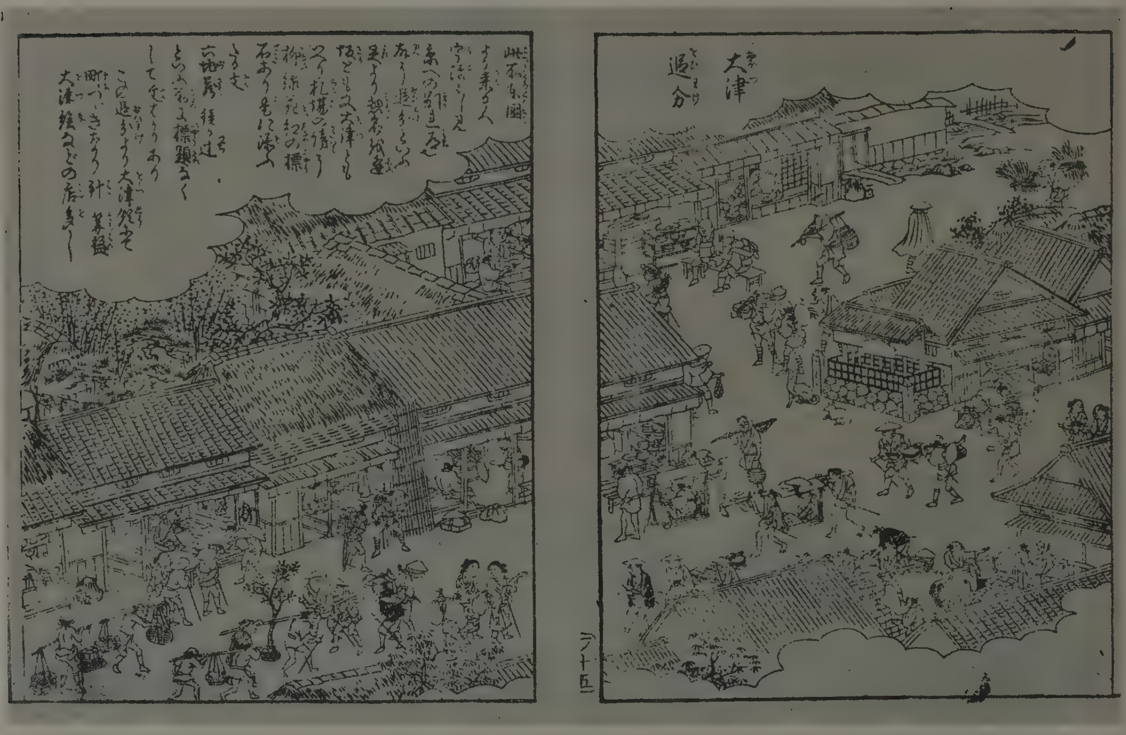


FIG. 34. OIWAKE VILLAGE, 1797

PLATE XVII. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

was rolled was attached to the bottom with paste, its protruding ends blackened, and the work of art was ready to be caught up by the next passer-by. Unfortunately, very few such complete examples of complete Buddhist drawings of the early period (Figure 1 and Figure 2) have come down to us in their original condition.

The secular drawings of the later periods were treated with no such respect. They never show these painted borders nor the roll form. Occasionally, however, they were backed on a larger piece of gray paper which served to set them off sufficiently and give them additional strength.

From the drama by Chikamatsu and from the illustrations (Figures 33 and 37) it is known that the Ōtsu-e were made by the roadside and sold from the artist's room. In the print one can see the little desk with paper, brushes and colours and, on the walls hang finished samples. Husband and wife would draw in the colours or would serve the buyer. One can fancy the pilgrim resting at the friendly threshold and watching the final touches being added to the souvenir of Ōtsu that he is bringing home to his family in the provinces. In the springtime and at harvest it was a busy life for the draughtsman. His days were doubtless spent in the fields and his painting done by candlelight to make ready for the next day's traffic. The little daughter who kept house and minded the baby while her parents were harvesting, would sell the pictures to the passing crowd. Over the dwelling hung the sign of *oni no nembutsu* painted on a board, the "Devil at prayer," which seemed the inevitable subject chosen to advertise these wares. It is part of the delightful unexplained, half-understood character of the whole subject that no scholar has yet plumbed the peasant mind of the past quite deep enough to give us reasons for its popularity. But beside it was written, for the benefit of the literate, Ōtsu Meibutsu, in large characters—"Speciality of Ōtsu."

There are no paintings in the East or in the West which can be compared closely to the productions of Ōtsu. The nearest in style are perhaps the work of the Torii group of Ukiyo-e artists, for they, too, held close to a traditional manner of broad outline, simple composition, and a very definite convention. But the Torii often signed their work and were a degree less close to the life of the people than the workers at the Ōtsu cross-roads.

If comparison fails to throw much light on the Ōtsu-e origins, historical research is equally barren. Except for undated and unsigned examples of the craft there is little to aid us. So natural and homely a movement was of course unheralded. It was taken so much for granted that nothing was written on the subject till it was already in its decadence in the early nineteenth century. By that time a part of the folk-lore was already outworn and forgotten or else fundamentally changed. There are, however, two collections[5] of Ōtsu-e printed, one in 1709 and the other in 1780, which, taken together, illustrate sixty-three different subjects. The list can be enlarged from the actual examples that remain and again from literary references—though the latter source provides the titles of some subjects of which we have no examples. It seems probable that the whole gamut of subjects used at Ōtsu was no more than a hundred. Those which are known I have listed at the end of this article.

[5] *Oiwake-e* and *Ōtsu Miyage*.

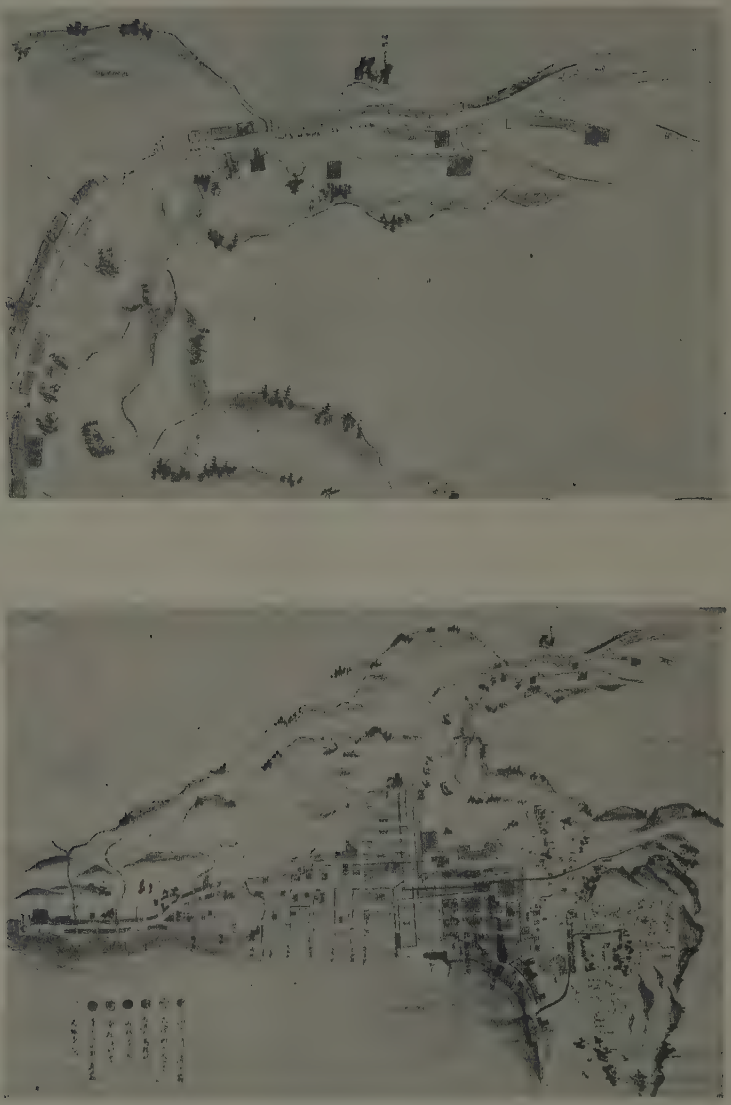


FIG. 35. ŌTSU MAP, 1742 (WITH DETAIL)

PLATE XVIII. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

SUBJECTS OF ŌTSU PAINTINGS

BUDDHIST SUBJECTS

*†Amida—Standing figure of the god Amida with halo, the Saviour of the Pure Land. No originals known, but reproduced in the later printed books of Ōtsu-e.

†Sanzon Butsu—Examples very scarce. Amida standing between two attendants on clouds, descending to the earth to receive all sentient beings.

*†Jūsan Butsu—According to the illustrations in later books, thirteen Buddhas were arranged in three vertical columns, five in the centre and four on either side. Used especially in anniversary ceremonies for the dead.

†Shōmen Kongō—Blue-faced deity, commonly called *Kōshin san*, with three eyes and six arms. The sun and moon, two monkeys, a cock and hen are depicted with him. He is the travellers' guard against evil spirits. (Figure 1.)

†Aizen Myō Ō—Fierce deity, protector of the good. A red body, holding various attributes in his six hands. Beside him are the treasures. No literary references. (Figure 3.)

‡Butsu To Ihai—Buddha and an ancestral tablet on which moral verses are inscribed, behind the upper part of the tablet Amida is seen.

Kwannon — It has never been determined whether or not this subject was actually represented by the Ōtsu painters.

†Daruma Daishi—(Boddhi Dharma) Extremely rare among these drawings. The first patriarch of the Zen sect. (Figure 2.)

*†Kōbō Daishi—One of the most popular saints. Founder of the Shingon sect in Japan in the ninth century.

Tō—A Buddhist Pagoda or tower, suggesting that the true believer in Buddhism is firmly founded and steadfast as a tower. (Figure 30.)

SUBJECTS OF FOLK WORSHIP

†Daikoku—Deity of happiness standing on a straw bale of rice (fecundity) a bag of treasure and a hammer. Sometimes a hat and a straw raincoat are shown. (Figure 19.)

‡Ebisu—Deity of good luck on the waters. Holds a fishing rod and a sea bream.

Hotei—Deity of generosity. A fat smiling monk, seated. Scarce.

†Gehō Hashigo Zuri—"Barber on a ladder." Daikoku (q. v.) shown mounted on a ladder shaving the high crown of the long-headed Fukurokuju god of longevity. One of the old themes which was included in the ten subjects of later years.

†Tenjin—Sitting figure of Sugawara Michizane (845–943 A. D.) in costume of his period. A popular sage and patron of caligraphy.

‡Daikoku Geho No Sumō—Fukurokuju and Daikoku wrestling, a contest between happiness and longevity. A composition like that of Sumō below.

‡Shōki—A mighty Chinese deity who routs fiends. Shown with an angry expression on his bearded face, brandishing a sword. Often the subject painted on the banners flown at the boys' May festival.

DEMONS

‡Kaminari To Taiko—Thunder god and drum. The god of thunder pulling up his drum from the sea with an anchor.

‡Kaminari To Yakko—Thunder god beating his drum while a terrified man hides from the noise beneath a tub.

*Oni No Kwaikoku—The Devil's pilgrimage. With his pack on his back and in typical pilgrim's attire the evil spirit performs the sacred duty.

‡Oni To Gaki No Kubippiki—Contest between Evil and Avarice. The "kubippiki" is an ancient sport—a sort of tug-of-war, with a loop of rope about the necks of the contestants.

†Oni No Gyōzui—A devil is just stepping into the hot bath, his loin-cloth of tiger skin is seen hung on a nearby rack; the moral being that no mere cleaning of the exterior can change the devil. (Figure 20.)

†Oni To Nezumi To Hiiragi—A rat chases a devil up a pillar, holding in his mouth the magic holly leaves which have the power of exorcising evil. (Figure 23.)

†Oni No Samisen—A devil is playing on the three-stringed *samisen* with a bottle and a wine cup before him, suggesting that even a powerful spirit succumbs to wine. (Figure 22.)

†Oni No Nembutsu—The devil as an itinerant holy man is striking a gong and asking alms. The meaning of the allegory is obvious. This was

* Known only by documentary evidence. † Originated in the early period. ‡ Confined to the late period.

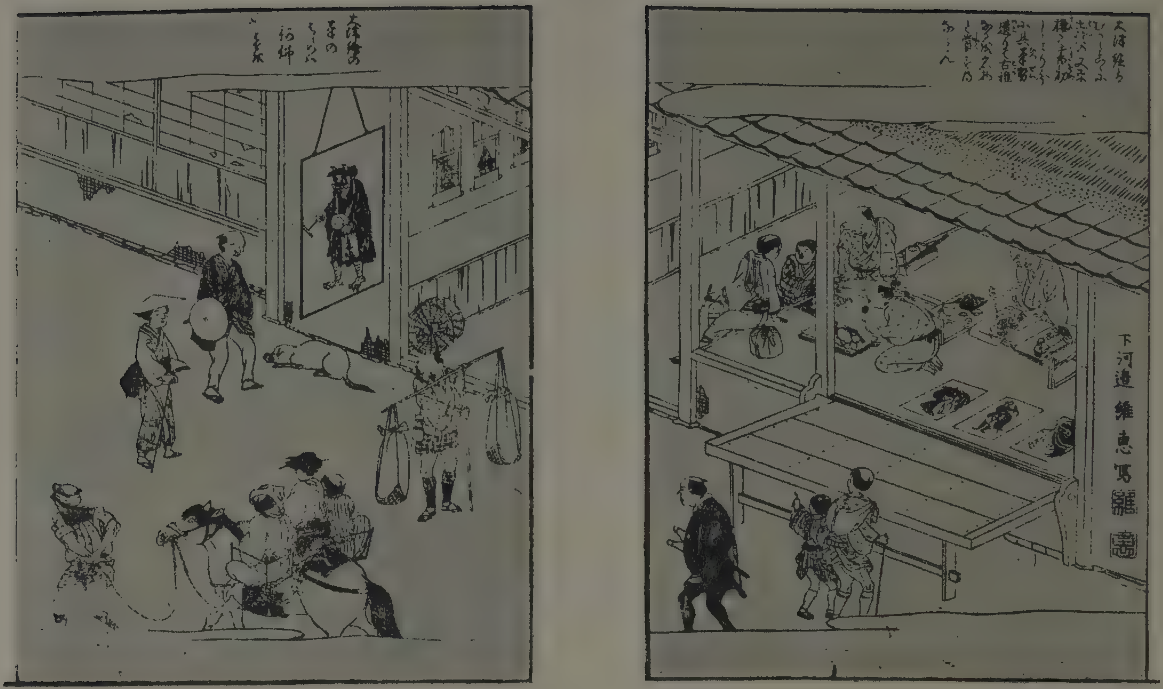


FIG. 36. ŌTSU-E SHOP, 1797

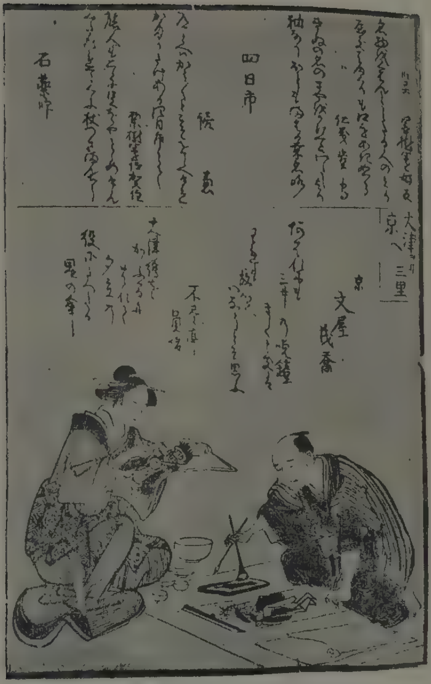

京へ三里
四日市
京
文屋

FIG. 37. ŌTSU PAINTER, 1814

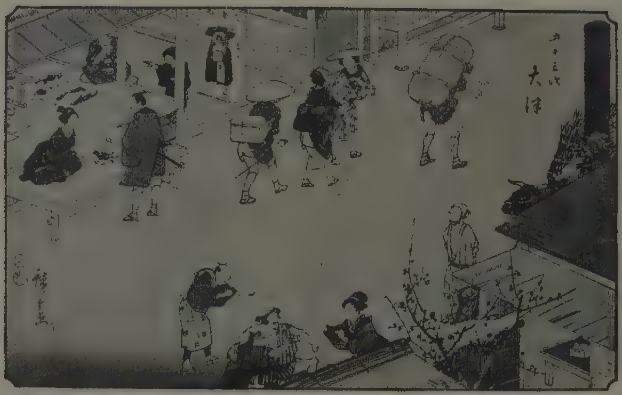


FIG. 38. ŌTSU-E BY HIROSHIGE, ABOUT 1840

PLATE XIX. *Yanagi: The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan*

perhaps the most popular and often repeated subject of our list. (Figure 21.)

‡Oni Wa Soto—Daikoku is shown expelling a devil at the time of the *setsubun* festival in February, by the time-honoured custom of throwing beans to the four quarters and uttering the charm *oni wa soto*—Devil get out!

‡Fuku Wa Soto—The reverse of the above allegory showing how evil is often paramount in the world and the god Daikoku (Happiness) seems to be driven out by the devil saying "Happiness get out!"

HISTORICAL PERSONAGES

‡Zōga—A Japanese monk of the Tendai sect in the tenth century, shown going to see the Emperor holding a fish beneath his arm pretending it to be a sword.

‡Raikō—A famous warrior who conquered the ferocious devil of Oeyama. He is shown in armour with the head of the devil on his shield.

‡Horo Musha—A warrior of the Gempei wars (twelfth century). Probably Yoshitsune. Shown clad in armour and always fighting.

‡Tametomo—A famous warrior of the Gempei wars shown in full armour.

‡Ya No Né Goro—Goro, an archer, shown seated and examining his shaft. Probably one of the subjects latest to be introduced.

‡Ushiwaka Maru—This is the youthful name of the great hero Yoshitsune (1159–1189 A. D.) balancing himself on the hand-rail of Gojo bridge in Kyōto, holding his sword and his general's fan.

‡Ushiwaka Maru To Tengu—Ushiwaka shown standing on the long nose of the mountain spirit known as the *tengu*. (A proud person is often called *tengu*.)

†Naginata Benkei—The follower of Ushiwaka (q. v.) shown standing on Gojo bridge in Kyōto, with his long halberd (*naginata*) and the six other weapons, in the fight where he was conquered by Ushiwaka. (Figure 18.)

†Tsurigane Benkei—Benkei (above) shown about to carry the great bronze bell of Miidera temple up to Mt. Hiei. This was one of the ten subjects which remained to the very end of practice of the craft.

‡Kintoki—A legendary youth of great strength shown holding up a black bear.

*†Kamakura Danemon—Probably an actor, no extant example.

*†Tamon Shozaemon—Probably an actor, no extant example.

†Go Nin Otoko—"The Five Men," or from their leader, "Karigane's Gang." Famous in the Genroku period (1688–1703 A. D.), these five bullies were not without a certain chivalry which endeared them to the populace. They are pictured as closely resembling each other. When painted singly, each is called *yakko* or *otoko-date* (the dandy). Their several names were:

Karigane Bunshichi (Figure 16.)
Hotei Ichizaemon
Gokuin Senemon
Kaminari Shōkurō
An-no Heibei (Figure 15.)

MALE SUBJECTS

†Yarimochi Yakko—The retainer (*yakko*) who held the standard (*yari*) of his lord, always took the lead. Thus the drawing of this figure probably signified pride of office without actual rank or power. (Figure 17.)

†Sakenomi-Yakko — A half-naked man is depicted drinking saké from a big cup. Often there is a saké bottle made from a gourd and a red pepper (to produce thirst) shown beside him.

†Nimochi-Yakko—A porter with luggage on his back.

†Yakko No Gyōzui—A servant is shown taking a light or partial bath—merely washing his back with a towel. A rare subject.

†Wakashu—A youth of the upper classes is shown walking clad in ceremonial dress and wearing the customary two swords.

†Kasa Wakashu — A youth shown walking wearing a straw hat (*kasa*). (Figure 13.)

‡Umanori Wakashu—A youth in ceremonial dress (*kamishimo*) is shown riding on a black horse.

*Kemari—A man is seen kicking a football, one of the sports of the upper classes.

*†Kyoku Makura—Nothing is known of the meaning of this picture which probably shows a man juggling with a pillow—a popular form of entertainment during the Genroku period.

†Takajo—A young falconer is shown walking with his bird on his left wrist. Many varieties of costume are known in the depiction of this subject which seems to have been one of the most popular Ōtsu pictures. (Figure 10.)

†Zatō—A blind man is shown followed by a barking dog. He carries a stick and sometimes a lantern and has a musical instrument strapped to his back.

*Usu-hiki — A blind man pounding tea in a mortar.

†Sumō—Two men are wrestling, not in the manner of the professionals, but obviously warriors in imitation of them.

*Saru Mawashi—A monkey trainer with his beast.

‡Karyūdo—A hunter about to shoot a running deer with a background of wooded hills.

* Known only by documentary evidence. † Originated in the early period. ‡ Confined to the late period.

E. M. CUDAHY
LOYOLA
UNIVERSITY
MEMORIAL LIBRARY

‡Manzai—New Year street singers, one shown dancing with a fan and the other beating the drum.

‡Sendō—A fisherman, shown sometimes rowing and sometimes sailing his boat.

†Fuji Wakashu—A rare variant of the following (q. v.) showing a youth, instead of a maiden bearing wistaria blossoms. It may be a girl bearing a man's sword and without a hat, or it may be a young man posing as a girl. (Figure 11.)

†Fuji Musume—"The wistaria maid." A girl is shown dancing with a branch of wistaria flowers held over one shoulder. The composition of the picture is definite but the details of the dress pattern, etc., are often varied. The meaning is not precisely known, but the subject was one of the most popular in the group and has had definite influence on theatrical dances. In the later periods the picture seems to have suggested an image of beauty which is changeable. (Figures 6 and 9.)

‡Atago Mode—"Atago pilgrimage." A composition much like the preceding of a girl holding a wreath of wistaria on her shoulder.

‡Hana Uri Musume—"Flower seller." Another composition similar to the last three, but definitely distinguishable from them by the fact that the girl carries the flowers on the shoulder-pole used by street hawkers.

‡Hana Guruma—"Flower cart." A girl is shown drawing a cart of flowers behind her.

†Tayū—Erect figure of a high-class prostitute in ceremonial dress. (Figure 8.)

†Fumi Yomu Onna—Erect figure of woman reading a letter. (Figure 7.)

†Kasa Sasu Onna—Figure of a woman carrying an open umbrella as she walks. Here, too, much variety of costume and colour seems to have been permitted, though the composition remained the same. The example illustrated is a fine early one. (Figure 5.)

‡Tabako Nomu Onna—A seated woman smoking a pipe with a tobacco tray before her. The type represented is a prostitute and the suggestion is that the habit of smoking is fit only for her.

*†Kagami Miru Onna—A seated woman is shown looking into a mirror. No original is known but the composition is reproduced in a woodcut illustration.

†Sumiyoshi Odori—"The Sumiyoshi dance." Two women are shown performing the dance of that name which was popular among the common people during the Yedo period. They use a fan and dance under a big umbrella.

‡Odori Musume—Dancing girl shown in various postures.

†Onna Komuso—A woman dressed as an itinerant monk (*komuso*) of the Fuke group of the Zen sect of Buddhism. These persons beg from door to door playing the flute and wearing a straw hat so deep that their faces are unseen. (Figure 12.)

*Tsukuma Mairi—Shows a pilgrim on the way to Tsukuma shrine in Omi Province at the time of the spring festival (first day of the fourth month). The custom is that every married woman pilgrim shall wear on her head as many pans as she has had husbands.

*Yoshino Mairi—No original or reproduction is known of this subject—the Yoshino pilgrim—but the very name of the place connotes cherry blossoms, and doubtless a man or a woman was shown carrying a spray on the way home from that famous valley.

‡Haru Goma—Shows a masked woman dancing with a hobby horse in her right hand, denoting the new year's dance of that name.

‡Kitsune Onna—The Fox Girl is shown sitting on a bench playing a musical instrument. Her vixen nature is often shown by the fox's tail which appears from her skirt.

ANIMALS

†Hyōtan Namazu—"The Gourd and Catfish." Among the earliest as well as the latest subjects of the Ōtsu painters. The interpretation of the subject varies but the catfish, which has no true scales, is traditionally the most slippery of things and difficult to catch with a gourd. The monkey stands for the man of sly cunning, but shallow. (Figure 24.)

‡Saké Nomi Zaru—(Cf. Shōmen Kongō). "The Drinking Monkey." A monkey is shown sitting on a gourd wine-bottle and drinking *saké*. Often the sun and moon are shown above.

†Chōchin Tsurigane—A monkey is shown carrying a heavy bronze temple bell and a paper lantern, one on either end of his burden pole. The lantern outweighs the bell—suggesting the topsy-turvy way of the world and the false values set on things by mankind. (Figure 25.)

‡Saru No Nembutsu—"The Monkey's Prayer" is pictured by a monkey striking an altar bell. An example of a holy deed by an animal incapable of holy purpose.

*Saru To Uma—"Monkey and Horse." A monkey is shown leading a horse by the bridle, suggesting that cunning does not always do the most obvious thing—namely, to ride the horse.

*San Zaru—"Three Monkeys," illustrating the three negations, sight, hearing and utterance. *Saru* (at the end of a word *zaru*) means both monkey and "do not."

‡Shimme—"The Sacred Horse" is invariably tied up in a stall near the Shinto shrine. Thus the suggestion is that of impotent holiness. (Figure 31.)

---

* Known only by documentary evidence. † Originated in the early period. ‡ Confined to the late period.

‡Kitsune To Uma—"Fox and Horse." A white fox is shown on horseback, suggesting that cunning controls.

‡Hyotan Goma—"Gourd and Horse." A horse suddenly appears from the small mouth of a gourd, illustrating the unexpected that suddenly happens.

‡Ushi—An ox shown tied to a pine tree.

†Neko To Nezumi—"Cat and Rat." A cat is seen offering a rat wine and red peppers. Beside them is a wine gourd. This illustrates the fable of a rat so ferocious that he killed many cats. He was finally subjugated by a cat who first made him drunk. Sometimes the rôles of the animals are reversed.

*Neko No Samisen—"Cat and Samisen." The *samisen*, a three-stringed banjo-like instrument, is headed with cat-skin.

*Neko Ni Sakana—Cat with fish in her mouth.

*Nezumi Ni Koban—"Rat and Coin." The rat is shown with a gold coin in his mouth. Rats are associated with the god of wealth.

*†Nezumi No Yomeiri—"Rat Wedding." Nothing is known concerning this subject, but presumably it is a satire on marriage.

*Tanuki No Hara Tsuzumi—"The Badger's Belly-drum." The badger is shown beating on his belly to divert travellers from the road.

‡Tengu To Zo—"Tengu and Elephant." The *tengu*, a mountain spirit with a long nose, is a synonym for pride. He is shown measuring noses with the elephant — hence a contest of pride. (Figure 32.)

†Take Ni Tora—"Tiger and Bamboo."

BIRDS AND PLANTS

‡Hato To Momo—"Dove and Peach." A pair of doves (emblems of decorum and courtesy) are shown on the branch of a peach tree.

‡Ume Ni Uguisa—"Plum and Nightingale." Two nightingales (actually bush-warblers) are shown on a blossoming plum branch. The two are parent and young; they illustrate the common belief that the mother nightingale instructs her child to sing. A didactic subject.

‡Niwa Tori—Cock and hen, sometimes a drum and chicken symbolize early rising. The drum is struck to mark the hour.

†Washi—An eagle on the branch of a pine. (Figures 26 and 28.)

†Taka—A hunting falcon leashed to her block. (Figure 27.)

Hayabusa—A wild falcon on a pine bough. (Figure 29.)

‡Ikebana—An arrangement of flowers in the *rikka* (upright) style. A didactic subject suggesting that everything demands a firm foundation.

* Known only by documentary evidence. † Originated in the early period. ‡ Confined to the late period.

FIG. 39. ŌTSU-E MONUMENT, ABOUT 1885

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A fuller list of books and articles dealing with the subject will be found in my Japanese book *Shoki Ōtsu-e*, 1929. But the following will be sufficient for the ordinary student.

DATE	AUTHOR	TITLE
1705	Chikamatsu:	*Keisei hangonkō*
1709		*Oiwake-e* (illustrated) reprint 1921
1730	Samukawa:	*Ōmi yochi shiryaku*
1768	Menzan:	*Tōsui Oshō-densan*
1780		*Ōtsu Miyage* (illustrated) reprint 1919
1797		*Ise-sangū meisho zu-e*
1805	Kyōden:	*Kinsei kiseki kō* (illustrated)
1814	Kyōden:	*Kottō shū* (illustrated)
1816	Kitamura:	*Kiyū shōran*
1865	(*circa*) Ryūtei Tanehide:	*Orokaoi*
1912	Yamanouchi: (ed.)	*Ōtsu-e shū* (illustrated)
1915		*Fūzoku zusetsu*
1920		*Ōtsu-e shū* (illustrated, of N. Miura collection)
1926		*Ōtsu-e senshū* (published in Ōtsu, illustrated)
1926	October number of *Dessin*, a monthly magazine (illustrated)	
1927	K. Yoshikawa:	*Ōtsu-e kō*, Kyōto

KŌRAI CELADON IN AMERICA

By LORRAINE d'O. WARNER

Introduction

The myths of many nations, primitive and civilized, tell of a heavenly being who gave the potter's wheel to the race he befriended. The East and the West alike saw in the wheel a gift of the gods. Pottery made cooking easy, and the preservation of foodstuffs and medicinal herbs; and from remote times it has been used not only in the kitchen but in ancestor worship and at altars, and has been buried with dead friends or heroes either to propitiate their spirits or to help them after death.

Few civilized peoples, however, have kept up the latter custom as long as did the Koreans. Not only in Shiragi times was this done, but in the Kōrai period, from 918 to 1392, the dead were buried in stone coffins, and pottery and metal objects were buried with them. In the succeeding Ri period the burying of pottery fell somewhat into disuse, but even today various objects are put into the coffin with the dead.

Pottery and porcelain from Japan and China have always interested European connoisseurs and have been the subject of many books. The past few years have been especially rich in scholarly contributions to this subject, and many difficult questions regarding Chinese pottery are gradually being resolved. It is unfortunate that the political situation in China today makes it certain that no scientific excavation of kiln sites will be possible for some years, and until this digging is done many attributions will remain mere guess-work, each connoisseur putting his own interpretation on the pretty and meaningless literary descriptions that he finds in Chinese books.

Korean pottery began to reach America in 1911 when certain private collections were formed and those at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and at the Metropolitan Museum in New York were begun. Since then the museums have acquired several of these private groups, and enriched their own greatly; the Freer Gallery of Art in Washington, the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Fogg Museum at Harvard have very fine examples. The Japanese scholars, moreover, have done important work in Korean art and archaeology. Not much, however, has been published in English regarding the grave pottery of the Kōrai dynasty, and this paper may serve to bring together certain facts about one of the loveliest branches of Asiatic art. After consultation with experts in Japan and Korea, we have concluded to illustrate it only from American sources, because Europe has relatively few important pieces, and because the superb Asiatic collections have already been partly published by the Japanese authorities, and are to be considered more fully in a book on which the Messrs. Asakawa of Seoul and Mr. M. Yanagi of Kyoto will collaborate.

These notes have been brought together at the suggestion of Mr. Charles Baine Hoyt, whose collection at the Fogg Museum of Art has been largely drawn upon for illustration, and whose generosity enabled me, while in Korea, to further the study of the subject. Their chief value lies in the fact that much of the data was given me by Mr. M. Yanagi, without whose criticism this article could not have been finished.

The richest tombs of the Kōrai period have, we believe, been thoroughly looted. For some time now no Kōrai pottery of any importance has come on the market in Korea, and the Japanese connoisseurs think it unlikely that new finds of fine pieces will be made.

I. History of Korea before the Kōrai Period.

The history of Korea is unfortunately not fully told in any book available to Europeans. The archaeology and ethnology are as yet unwritten. From Japanese

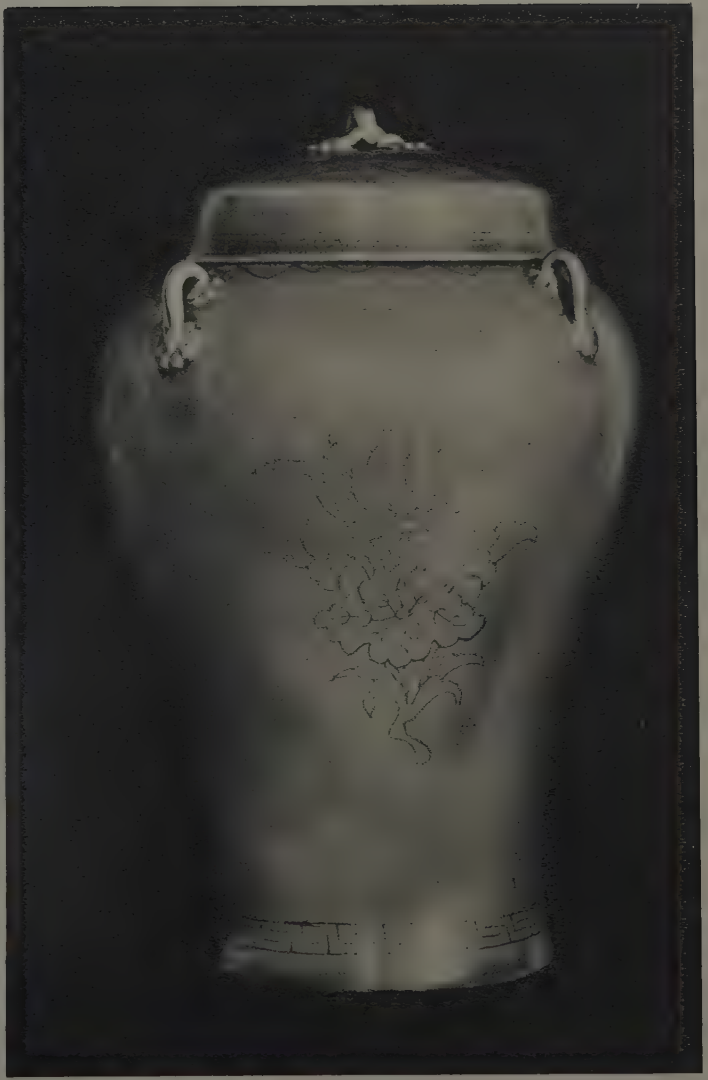


FIG. 1

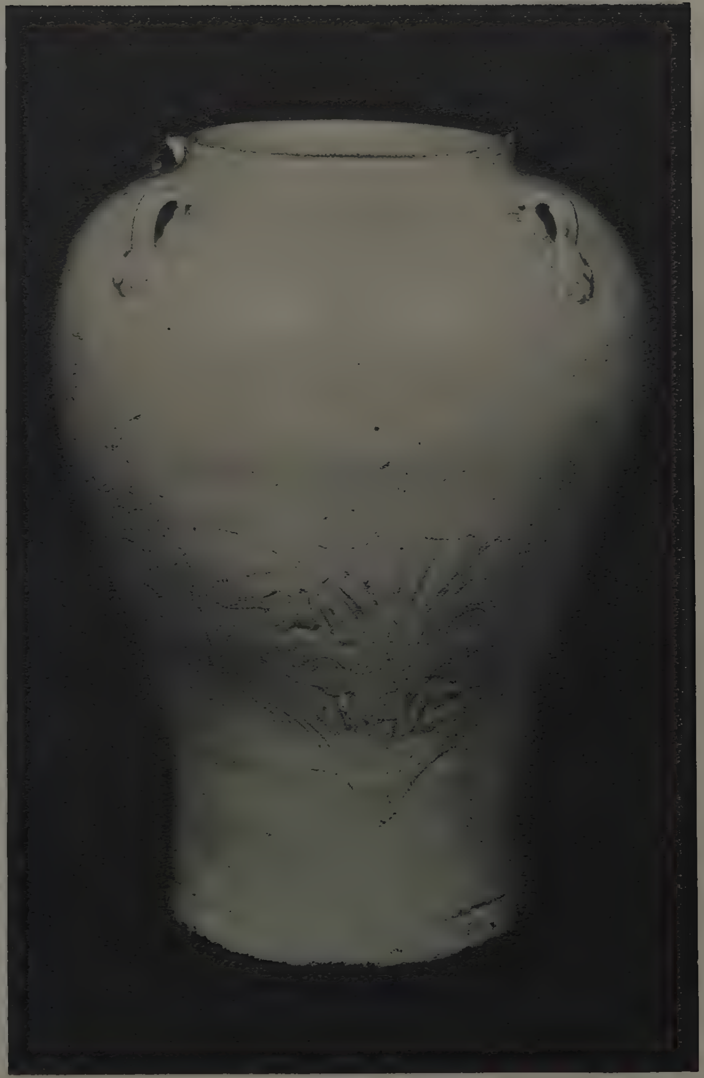


FIG. 2

Plate XX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

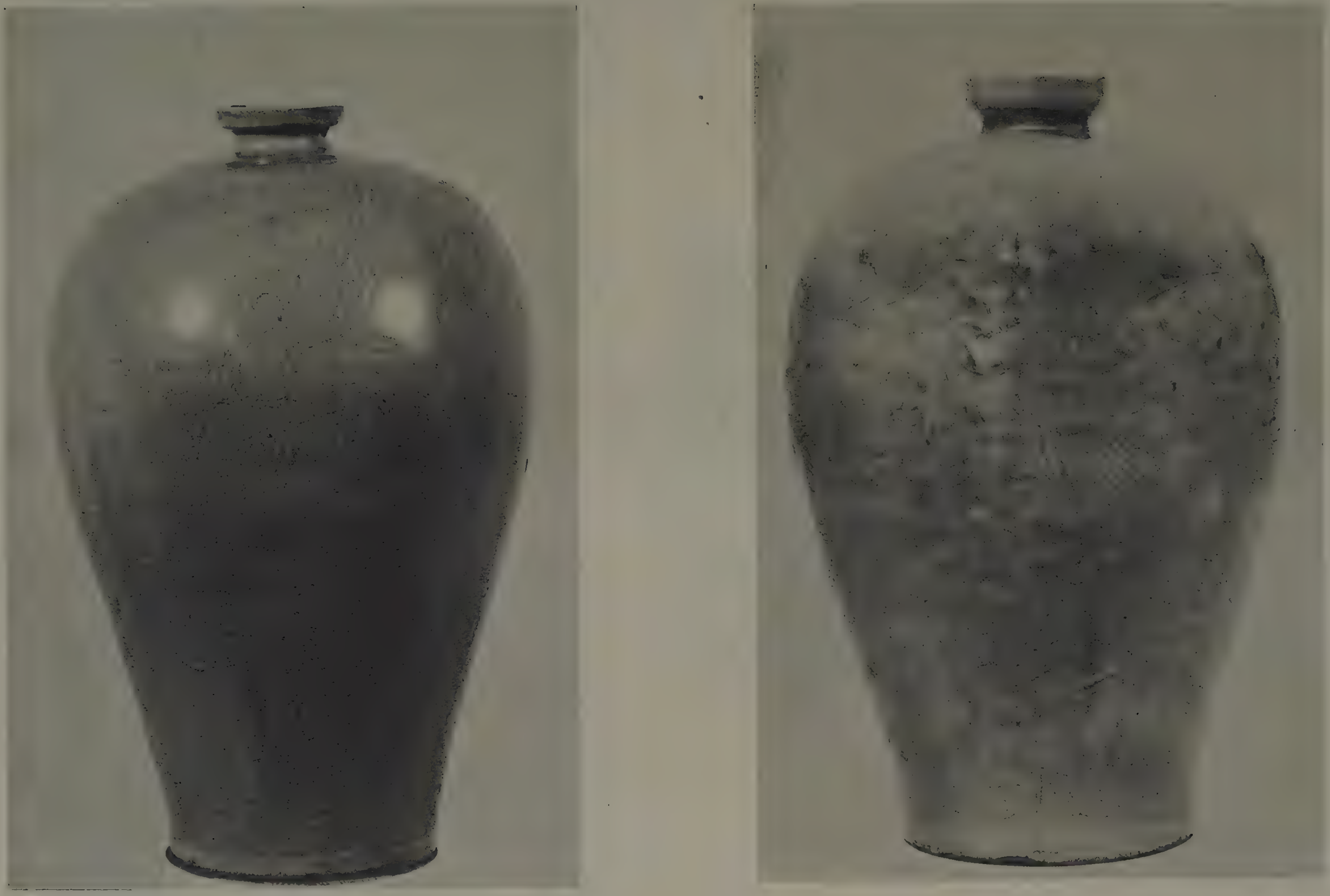


FIG. 3

FIG. 4

PLATE XXI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

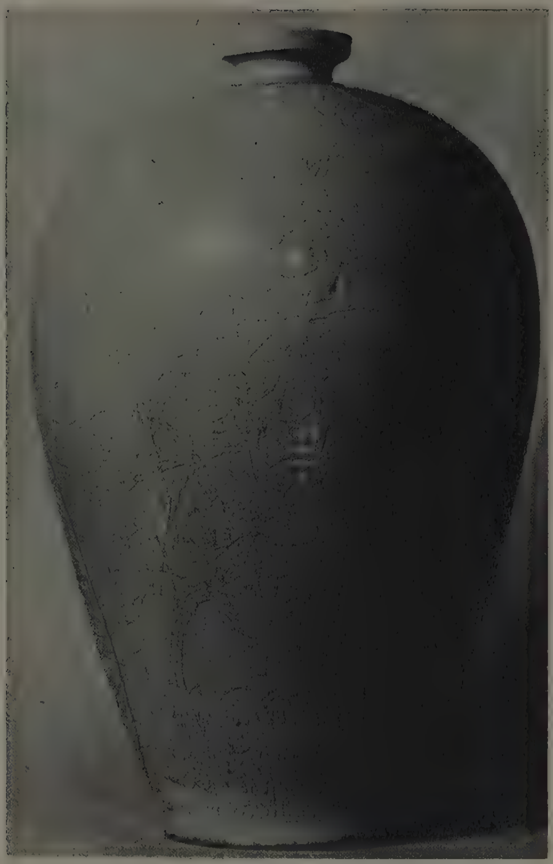


FIG. 5

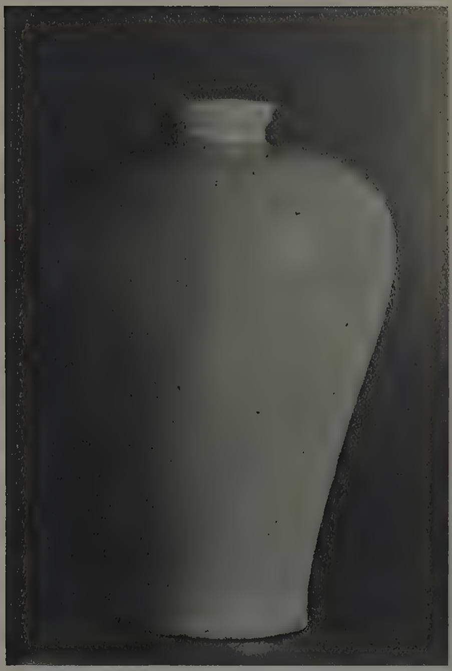


FIG. 6

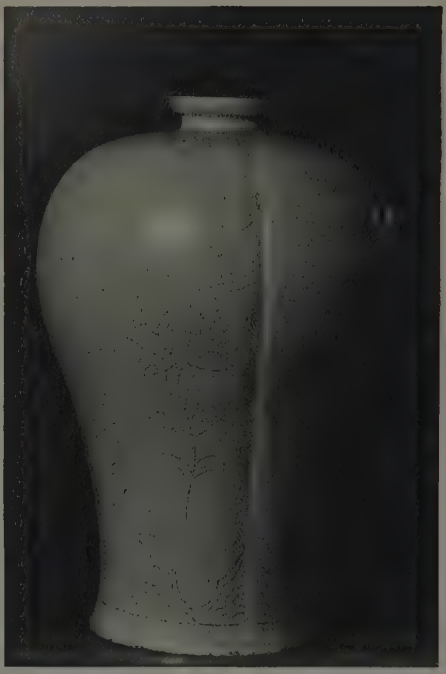


FIG. 7

PLATE XXII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

sources and histories of Japan in European languages the following outline of Korean history has been taken; it can only serve as a general basis, many of the statements being still open to discussion.

The Korean peninsula has been from early times the scene of disputes between petty kingdoms, of wars as continual as those among South American Republics and arising from like reason,—land hunger, trespass, and deliberate interference from powerful neighbours. These constant upheavals have obliterated most of the art of those times and of the literary evidence concerning it. But the tomb paintings at Kōsai and Shinchidō and the sculpture at Sekkutsuan are as fine as anything in the whole history of Asiatic art, the work of supreme artists. They can hardly have been isolated examples of beauty in a desert of the commonplace.

Actual history in Korea begins in the period of the Three Kingdoms, during which Buddhism and Buddhist art were introduced to the peninsula from China. The Three Kingdoms or Principalities were Shiragi,[1] Kōkuri, and Kudara, founded respectively in 57, 37, and 18 B. C. They ruled side by side with varying fortunes until 632 A. D., when with the aid of a Chinese army corps and a Chinese corruption fund, Shiragi, the southernmost kingdom, absorbed the other two and held control until after the first quarter of the tenth century. The kingdom of Kudara is distinguished in Japanese history as traditionally the transmitter to Japan of Buddhist books and images in 552, and so was the match which started the splendid blaze of Japanese art and culture.

Contemporary with the three Korean kingdoms China was ruled first by the Han dynasty—and finds have latterly come to light in North Korea proving Chinese dominance there—later by the Ch'in, the Wei, and the Wu which three divided the Yellow Empire. Still later, in the first quarter of the fifth century, six kingdoms redivided China, and of these six the Northern Wei, the house of Topa, was historically and culturally the most important.

This North Wei Kingdom penetrated southward from North Shansi province, where its capital was established near the modern city of Tat'ung fu, and finally it took up its headquarters at Loyang in Honan province. Here, at the China end of the great transcontinental trade route from India, the court of the Wei Emperors absorbed Buddhism from the Punjab and the Northwest Provinces and collected the precious jade from Turkestan and fetched down herds of the sturdy ponies bred on the Mongol steppes. The earliest dated Buddhist sculpture which remains to us in China was produced under Wei patronage at Tat'ung fu. There today the cave chapels of Yün Kang, cut in the second half of the fifth century, show sculptured forms which are kin to the carved Buddhas of North India and the statues found by Sir Aurel Stein and others along the trade route to Central Asia. In 494 the capital was moved to Loyang in Honan, where cave chapels on an even greater scale were excavated, with thousands of sculptures cut in a style which already had become markedly Chinese.

To Tat'ung and Loyang, as to universities, came the Korean monks and students eager for the new culture. If the Three Kingdoms of Korea were not admittedly vassals to North Wei, at least they sent periodic embassies bearing gifts. Chinese teachers and missionaries and ambassadors came also to the peninsula. Thus it came about that the northernmost of the three kingdoms, Kōkuri, controlling a country now partly merged in the province of Manchuria, was the first to feel the great lift which Buddhism brought. It is not without significance that the Kōkuri kings are believed to have been of the same Tungus stock as the Emperors of North Wei, and they, too, served as the medium for Buddhist propaganda. Geographical position, political necessity, and kinship with the house of Topa, all made such intercourse natural and easy.

---

[1] Despairing of pleasing everyone I have hereafter used Japanese pronunciation for Korean and Chinese proper names except for the Chinese dynasties which are, of course, established in the Chinese form. Japanese scholars have done the only dependable work on this subject and my material is drawn from them.

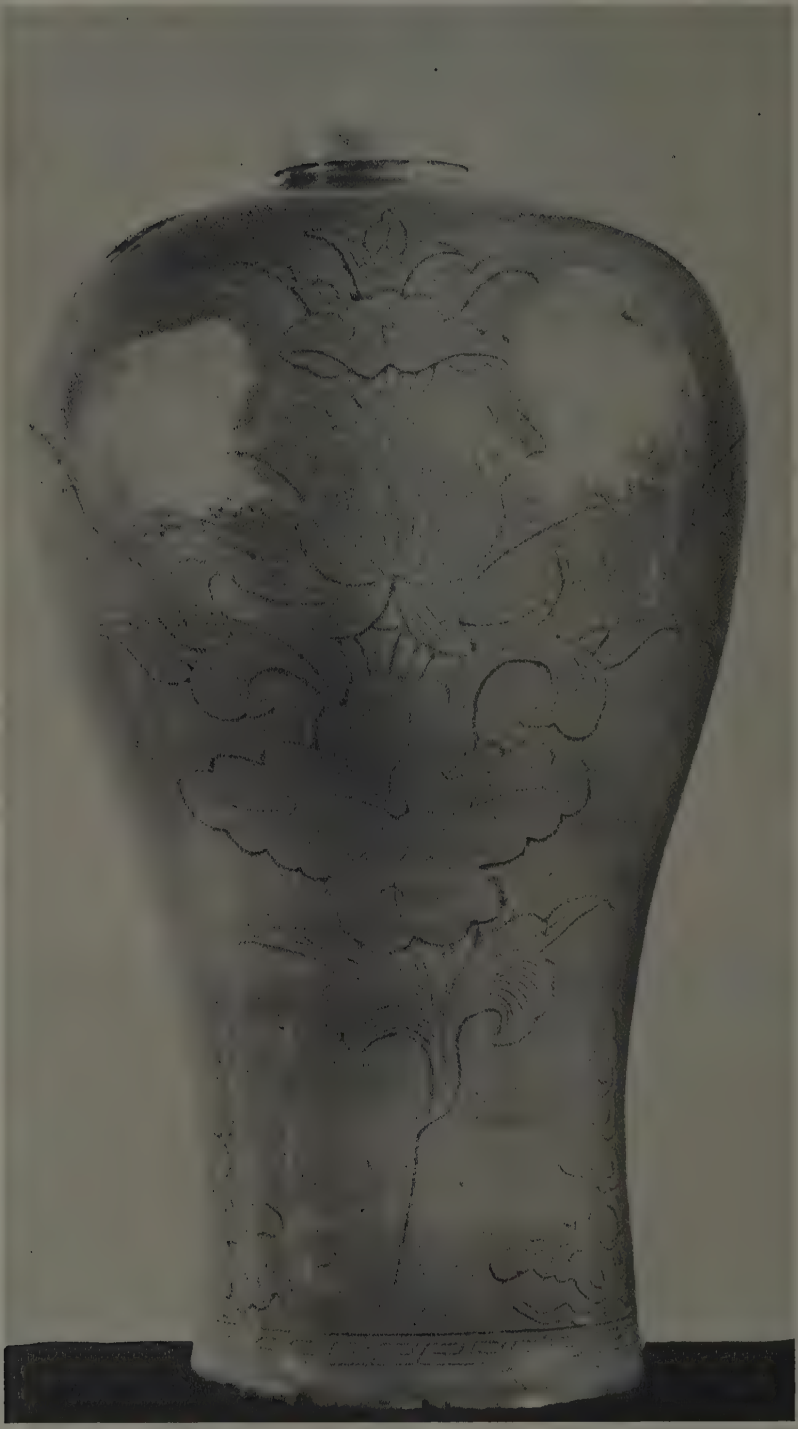


FIG. 8

Plate XXIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

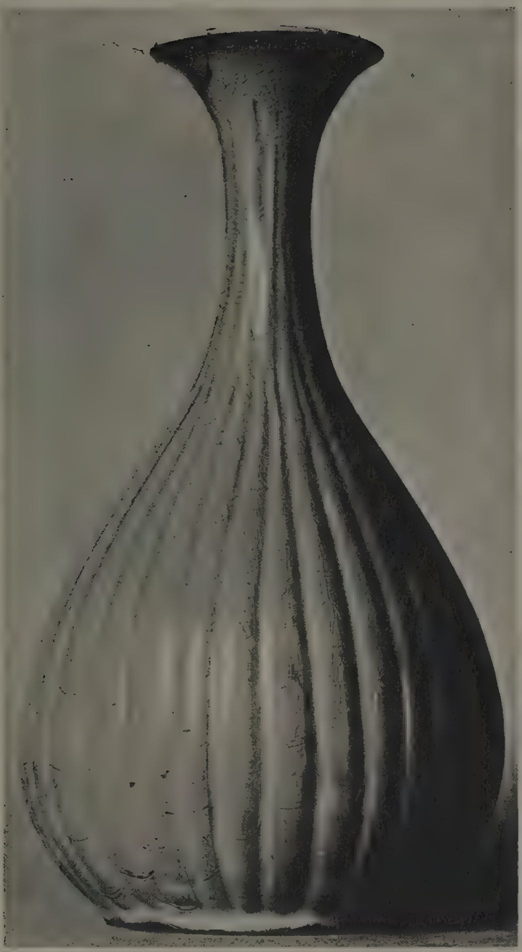


FIG. 9

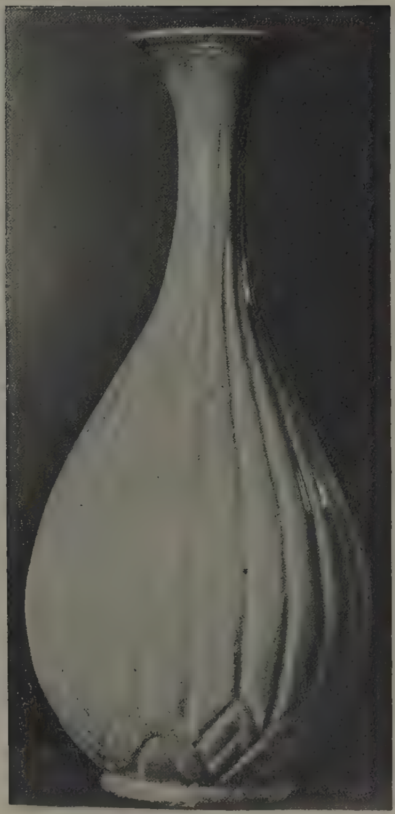


FIG. 10

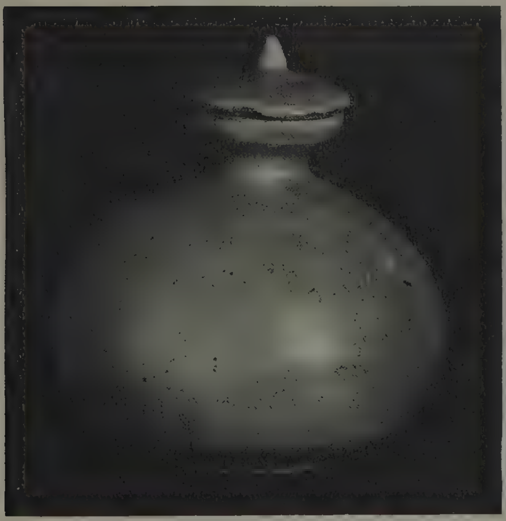


FIG. 11

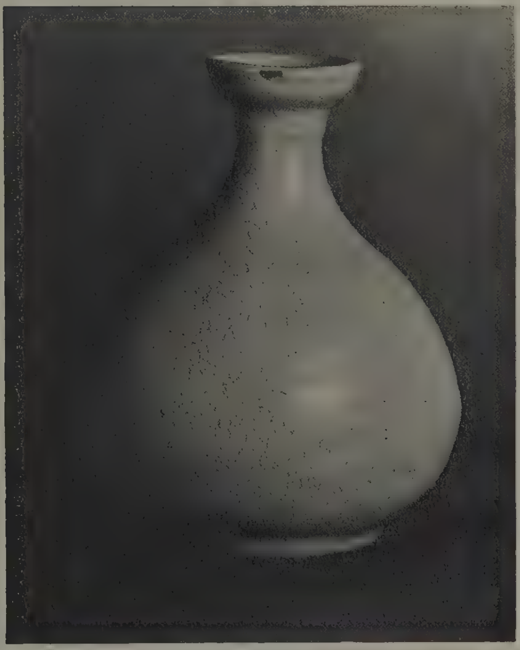


FIG. 12

PLATE XXIV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

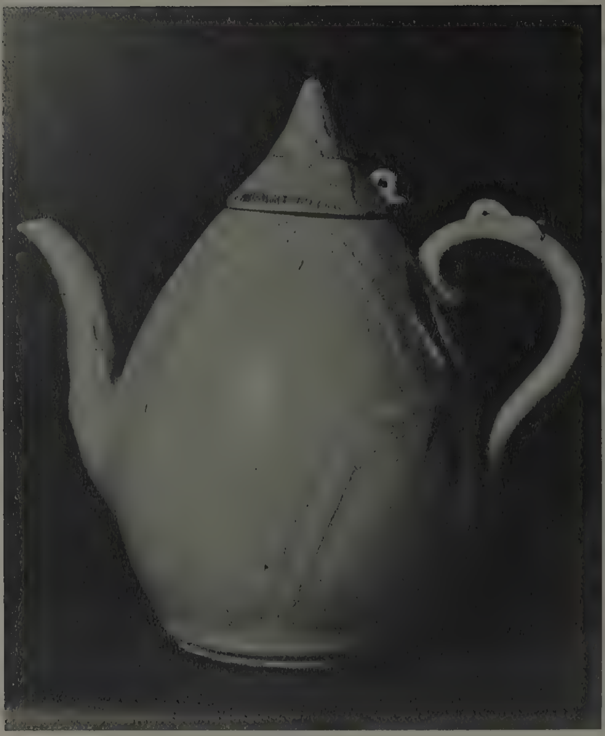


FIG. 13

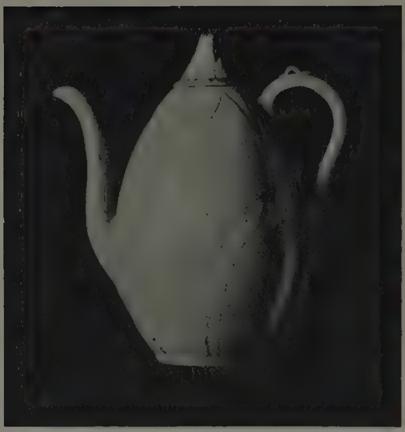


FIG. 14

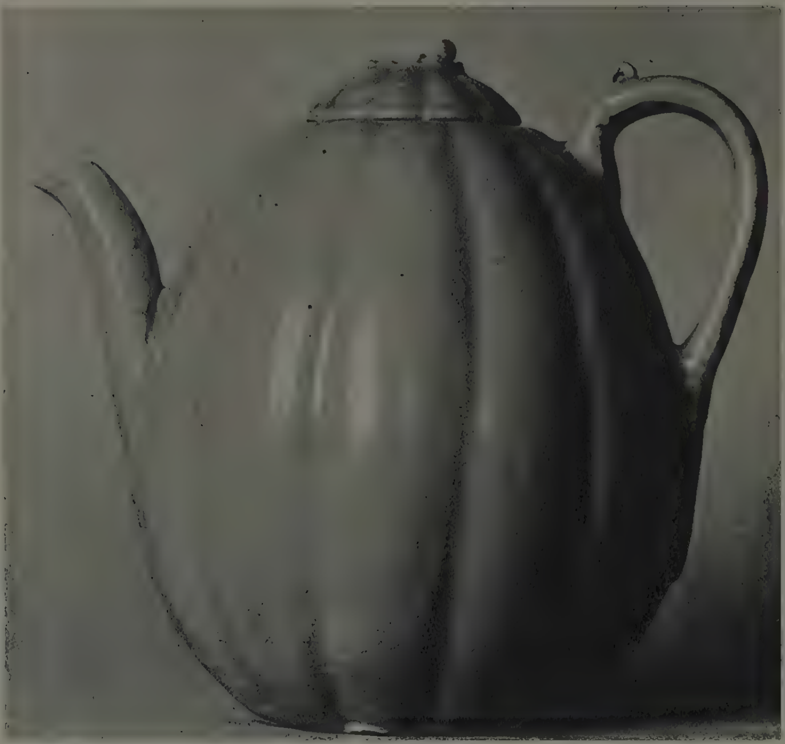


FIG. 15

PLATE XXV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

The earliest instances of Buddhist missions from China have, no doubt, been lost. According to Japanese sources, the first one on record is the visit of the monk Shun-tao from Tat'ung in 372 to the Kōkuri court with images and paintings and several scriptures which had lately been translated from the Sanskrit into Chinese.

Shun-tao, and his successor A-tao, caused temples to be erected and no doubt had local copies made of the images and paintings which they had brought. But at that time there is no evidence that Buddhism had gained any hold in the country south of the Yalu river.

Eight years later, however, the Kingdom of Kudara, directly to the south of Kōkuri, had received the gospel, and a temple was erected by royal command at Nan Kan San near the modern city of Seoul, on the occasion of the visit of that very Marananda who had brought a fresh supply of gospels from India to the Wei capital. Whether or no this monk came himself to Korea, it is certain that the temple was founded about this time in Kudara and the stream of Buddhist culture had begun in earnest its southward trend. From Kudara it made its way to Japan where, for fifteen centuries, it has been perhaps the fundamental influence of human life and human thought.

Even this rough summary brings out two facts which are important for the understanding of Korean history. First of all, it is clear that Buddhism was the stream which carried civilization and culture; and, second, we must realize that geographical position has to account for more in history than the ethnologist and the psychologist have hitherto been willing to admit. In racial and intellectual migrations, the trader went first, and by the easiest route; the soldier, the monk, the lawmaker followed in his footsteps. Set at the eastern end of the Indian trade route, the North Wei Kingdom got not only precious jade stones, remounts for their cavalry and a new sort of worshipful images, but manners as well. In the arm-pit of the continent and the peninsula, their cousins the Kings of Kōkuri controlled the ways from China to Korea. In like manner they were set at the gates and were able to prosper above their neighbours. Looking at the map one is tempted to ask whether the central and south Korean kingdoms did not traffic across the narrow gulf direct to the mainland, rather than brave the forests and waste places of north Korea and Manchuria and the ranges of Chihli and Shansi. Undoubtedly they did, but their traces have disappeared. It is also certain that in early times salt water was more often a barrier than it was a highway.

Of the art of the Three Kingdoms in Korea there are left a few dozen Buddhist bronzes, the remarkable lacquer from the Rakurō tombs, a single stone statue at Keishū, and the frescoes on the walls of the royal tombs at Kōsai and Shinchidō near Heijō which were opened a dozen years ago. These last are not Buddhist in subject, but recognizably of such an animistic cult as that which, in China, later became merged with the decadent Taoism. From the point of view of artistic excellence these paintings are perhaps superior to anything of the period in any country. Neither contemporary Rome nor Byzantium had such splendid vigour. India possessed an art that is comparable, for the cave chapels of Ellora and Ajunta suggest as accomplished draughtsmanship if a less fine composition.

A few of the bronze and wooden statues to be seen in Japan today, which date from these same centuries, were probably made by Korean artists. Possibly among them are some which were actually brought over to the islands by visiting ambassadors or by the Buddhist monks who made a part of their train. These should properly be included in the examination of early Korean Buddhist art, even though their exact provenance cannot be determined.

In general the culture of Korea, after the supremacy of the Shiragi (Silla) kings had been assured over the country, followed as closely in the footsteps of China as

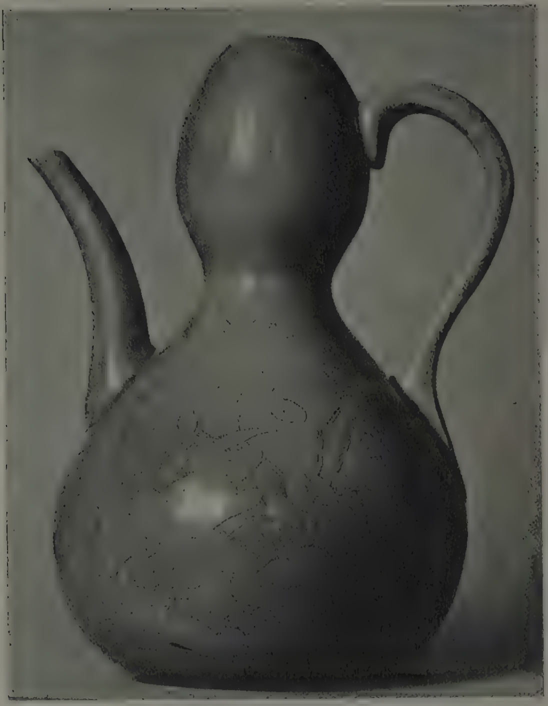


FIG. 16

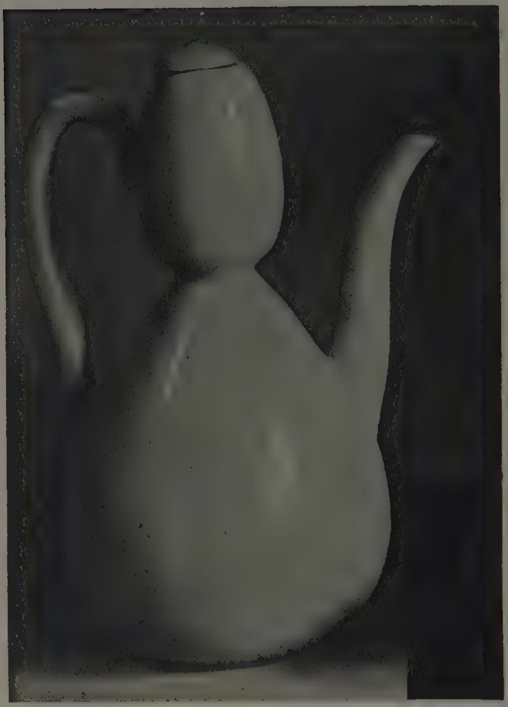


FIG. 17

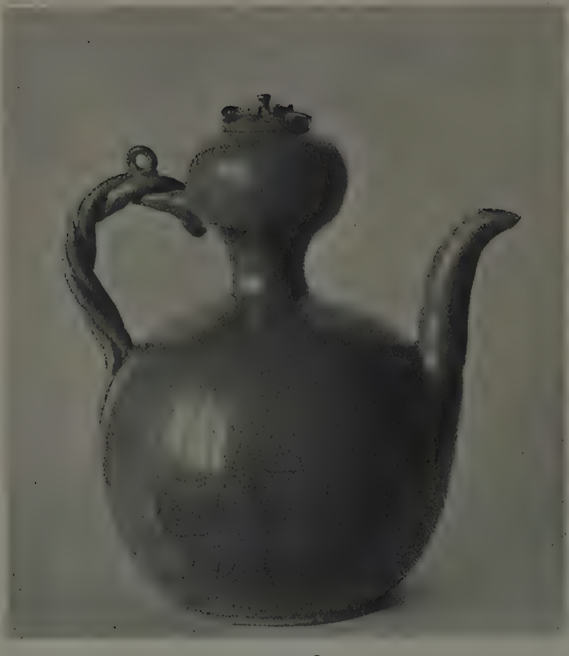


FIG. 18

Plate XXVI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

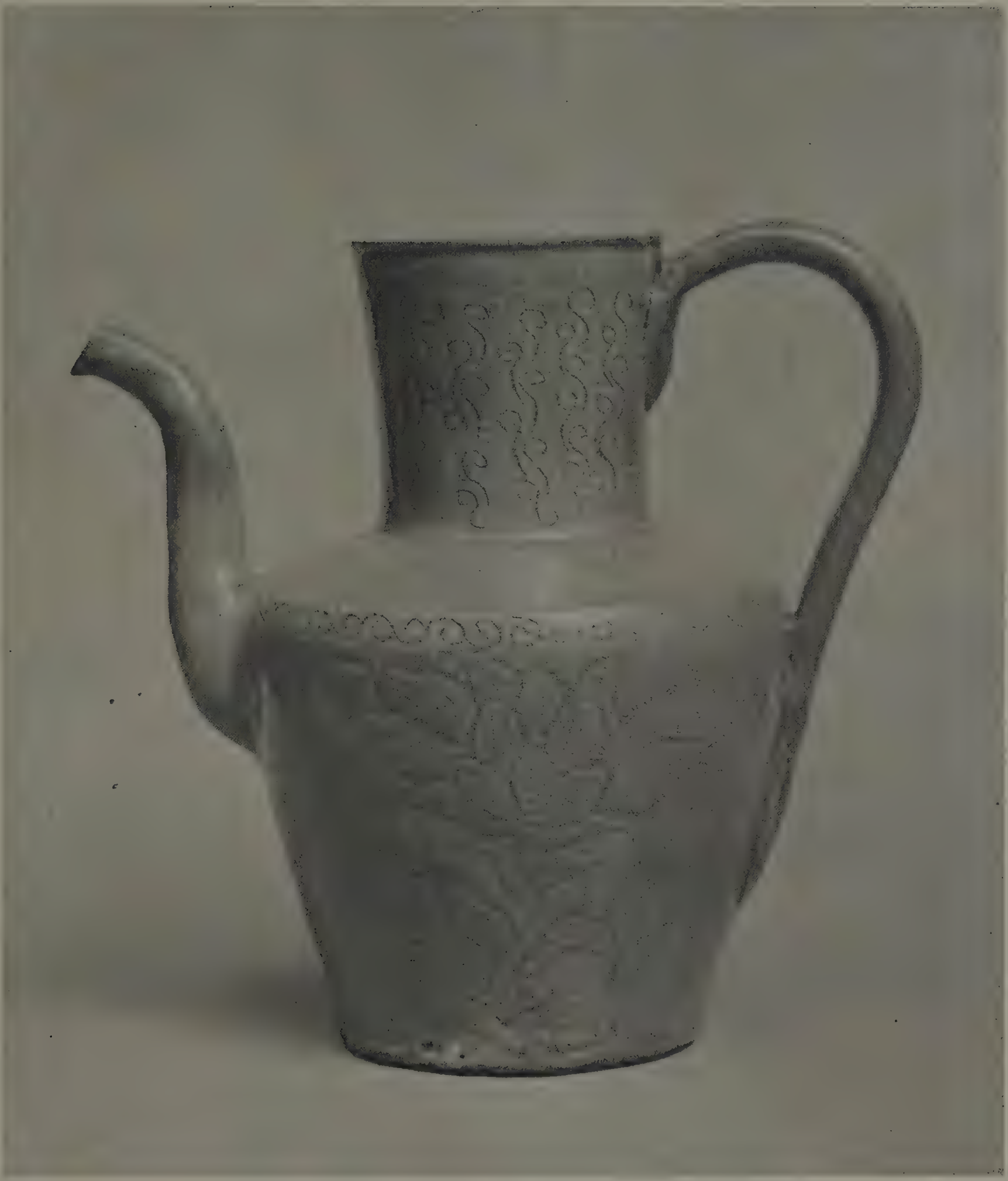


FIG. 19

Plate XXVII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

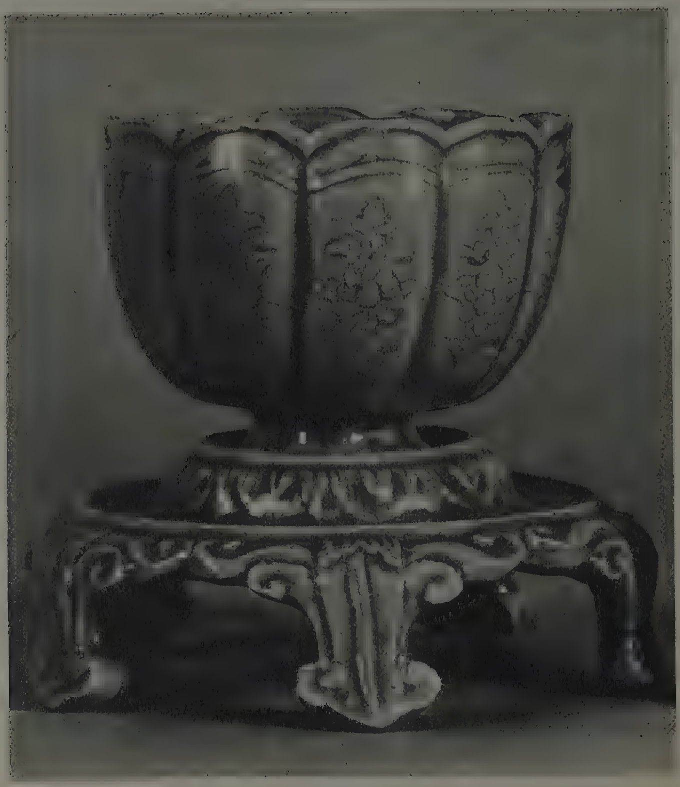


FIG. 20

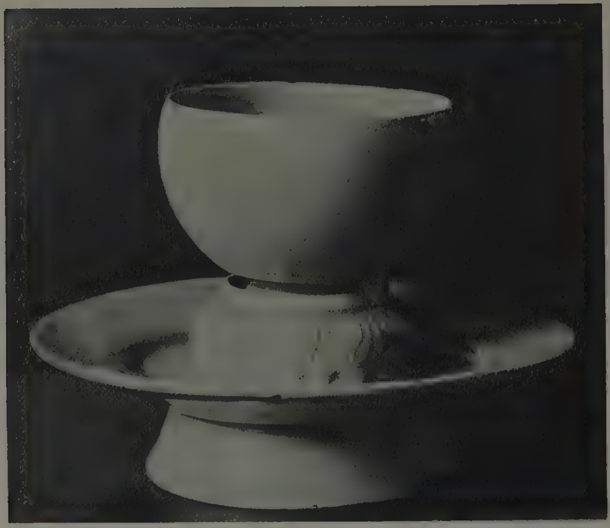


FIG. 21

Plate XXVIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

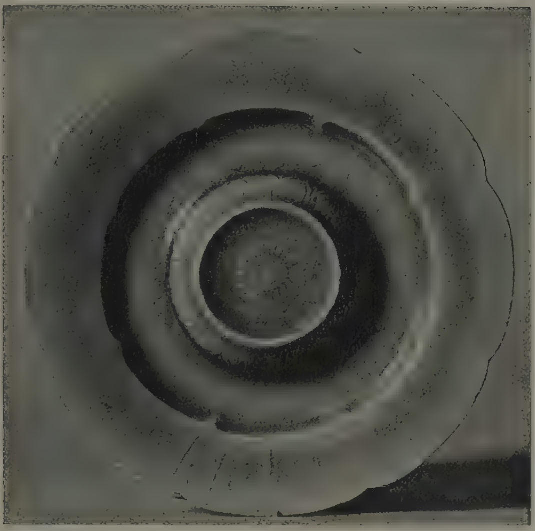


FIG. 22

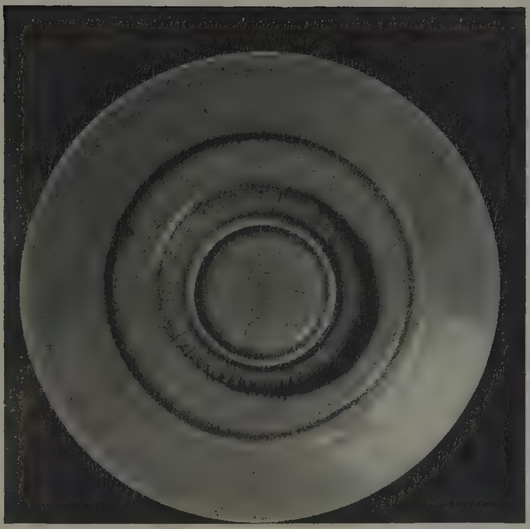


FIG. 23

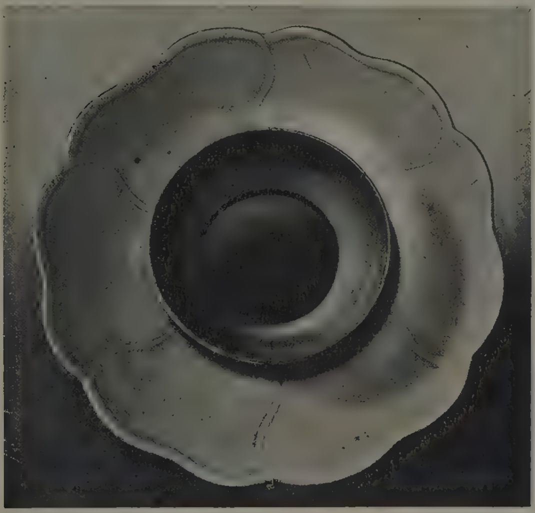


FIG. 24

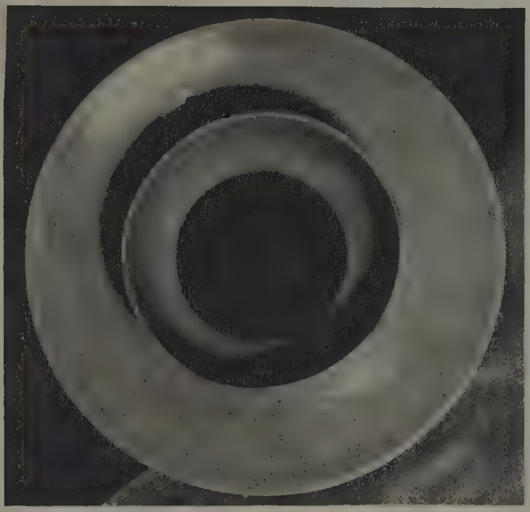


FIG. 25

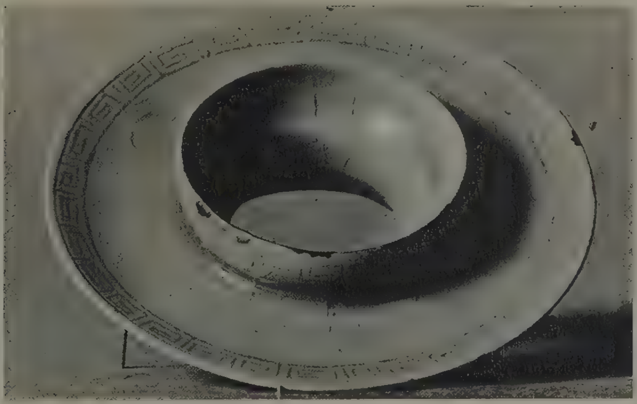


FIG. 26

PLATE XXIX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

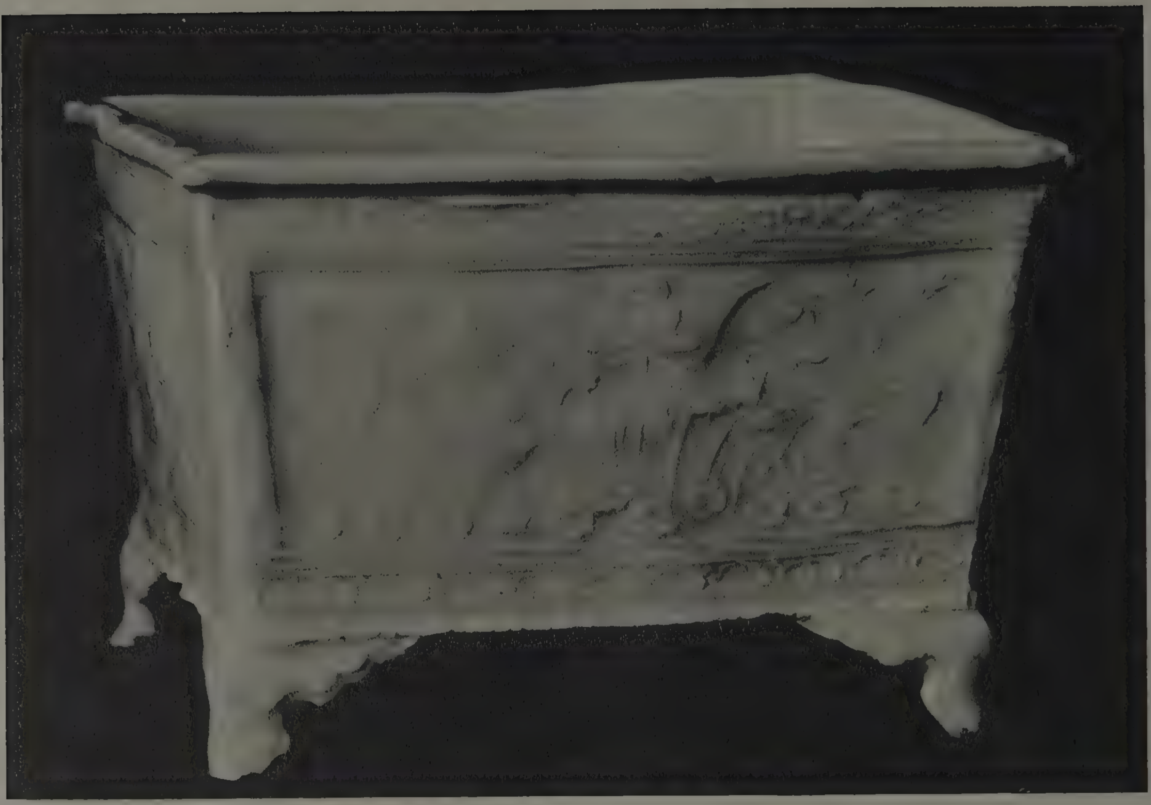


FIG. 27

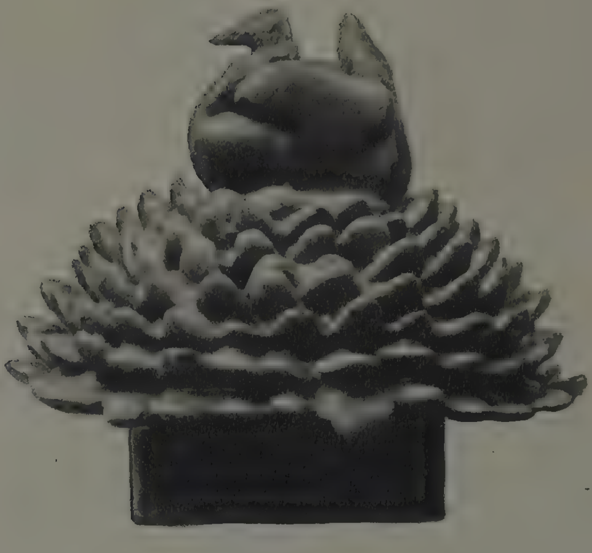


FIG. 28

Plate XXX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

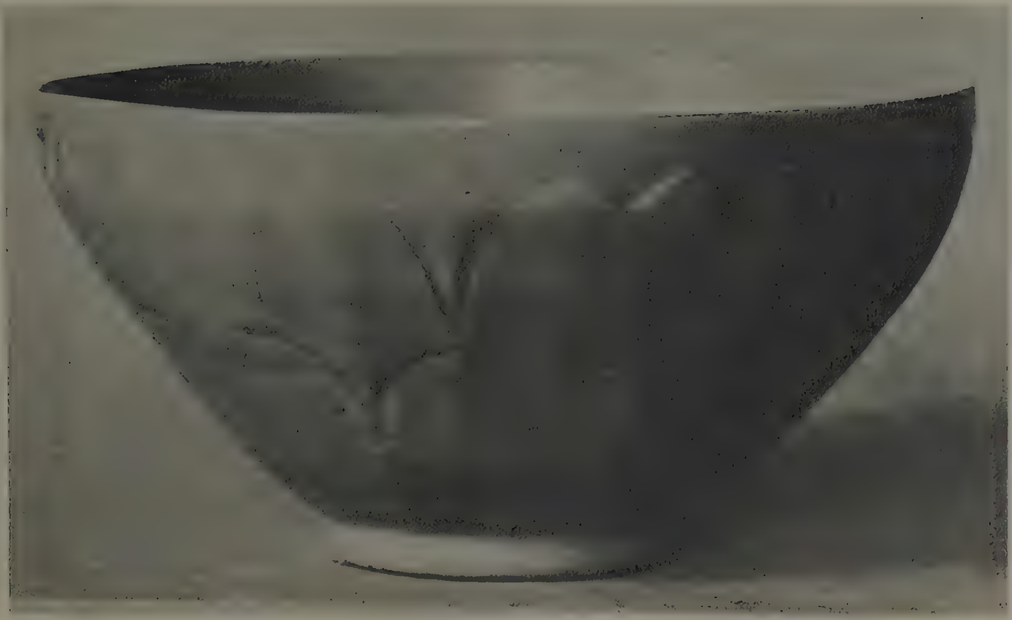


FIG. 30

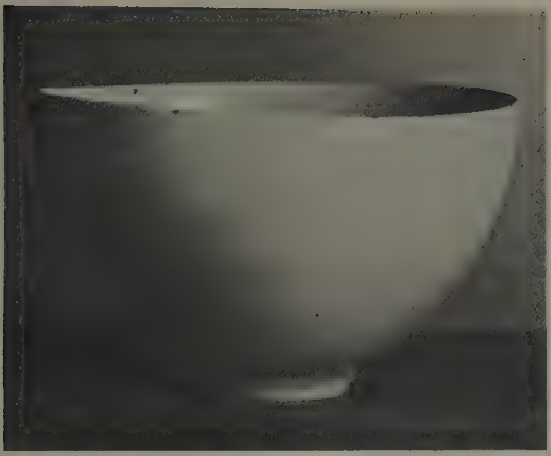


FIG. 29

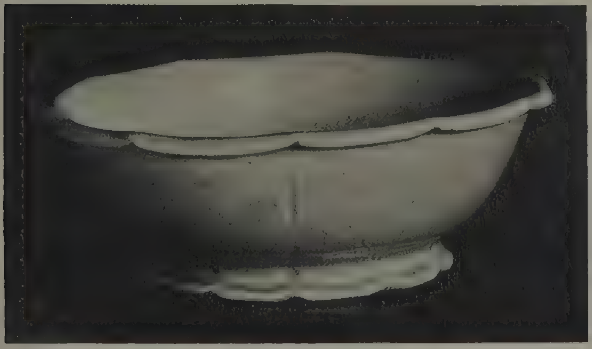


FIG. 31

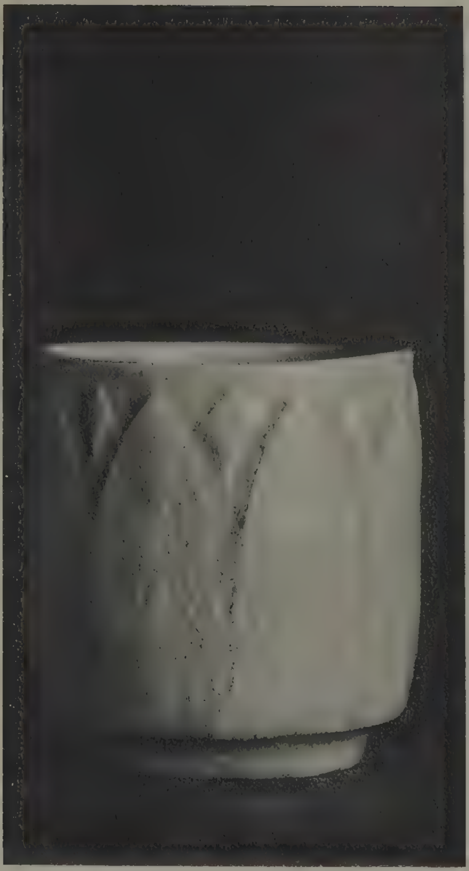


FIG. 32

PLATE XXXI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

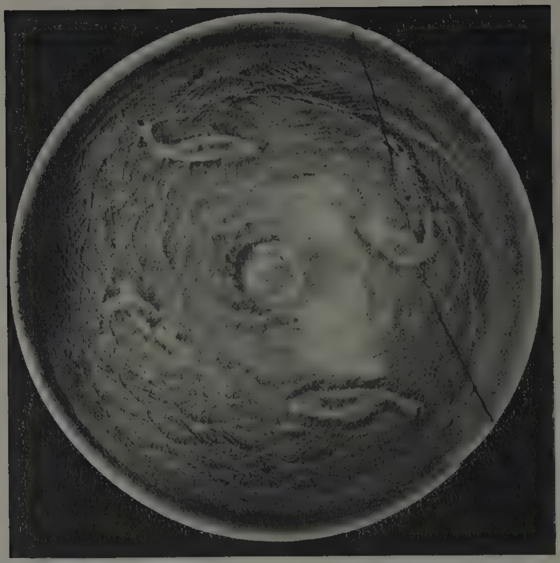


FIG. 33

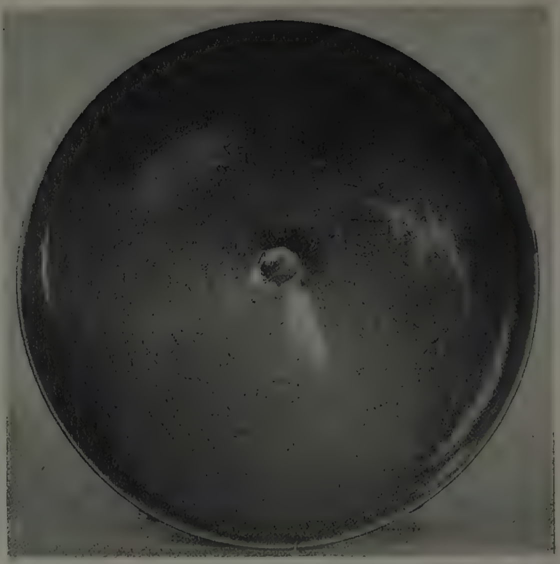


FIG. 34

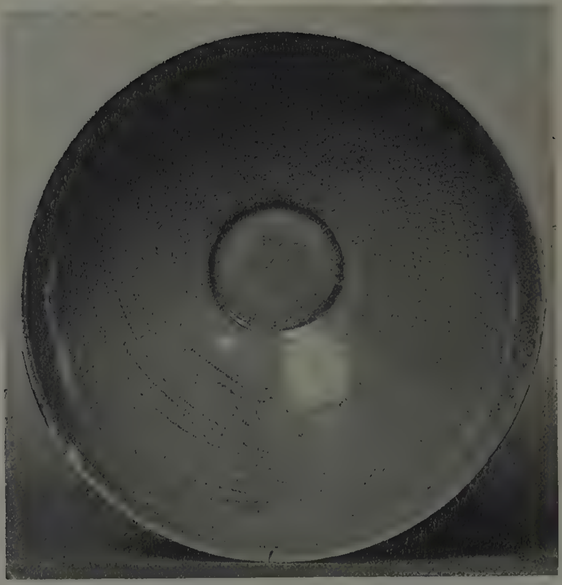


FIG. 35

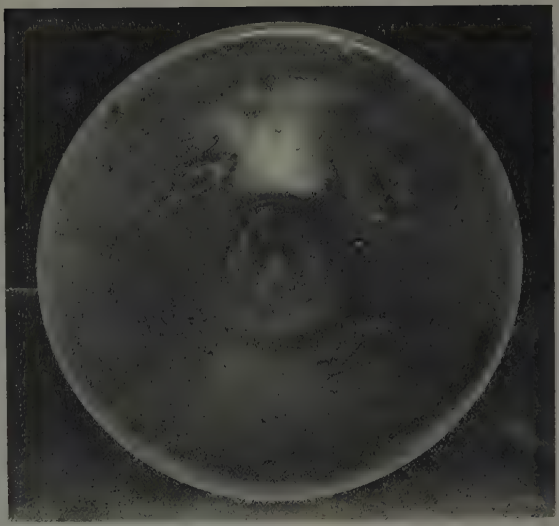


FIG. 36

PLATE XXXII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

it had done when the peninsula had been ruled by three separate Kingdoms. As the T'ang dynasty (618–910) brought sweeping changes in art and manners to the mainland, so did the Shiragi supremacy (632–936) to the peninsula. The calendar, the laws and even the dress of the upper classes were remodeled after T'ang fashions. If, in the arts, we can today detect a non-Chinese tinge in the productions of that period in Korea, it is for the most part such as one would expect to find in a colony somewhat remote from the Imperial capital. And yet, any suggestion that this was mere slavish imitation is disproved by the superb sculpture of the cave temple of Sekkutsuan (carved in 751) near Keishū, and the great bell of Hōtokuji (770) in the museum at Keishū. The temple contains sculpture cut in the rock, and nothing so far brought to light in China is finer than this. The bell is of a common Korean non-Chinese shape, but its beauty of design and workmanship is equalled in the East only by that on the great bell in the so-called Museum at Sianfu. And since we have already noted the fact that the frescoes at Kōsai are masterpieces of the first order, it is hardly rash to assume that painting in Shiragi times was not inferior to the other arts. Until these superb examples of painting, bronze casting, and sculpture were discovered, it had been assumed that Korea was always a follower of China. Finally, we find a fine example of the architecture of the period in the temple of Bukkokuji, near Sekkutsuan. It is of noble proportions and design.

II. Development of Korean Pottery.

To turn to the potter's craft, we find in this same period of Shiragi, from the middle of the seventh to the middle of the tenth century, the first suggestions of the later pottery and proto-porcelain which forms the subject of this paper. These wares were unglazed or slightly smeared with a colorless glass which has the appearance of an emanation from the body clay, and the grey or reddish-grey body clay is, as a rule, coarse.[2] Where decoration occurs, it is incised with a graving tool or impressed with a stamp. The more common outlines which are associated with this ware are far cruder than would be expected in a period that produced the sculptors and painters of Sekkutsuan and Kōsai. But the tiles found near Keishū are exquisite in design and execution, and with them have been unearthed many splendid grotesques corresponding in purpose to gargoyles. It is curious that the green glaze which was often used on these tiles should not have been applied to pots.

Like the wares which have come down to us from the succeeding period of Kōrai, by far the larger proportion of known examples of Shiragi date represent pottery used in the ceremonies connected with burial, or for the service of souls in another world.

Only the tombs of royalty and of nobles have preserved anything of their original form. Those dating from the time when Shiragi was merely one of the Three Kingdoms and was forced to receive its culture at second hand through the territory of Kōkuri, were built on the level plains in one of two simple designs. The earliest of these two shapes consisted merely in a chamber of uncut boulders built over a wooden coffin which rested on the ground. Outside the chamber a thick layer of clay was smeared, which in turn was covered with earth and stones to a height of perhaps eighteen or twenty feet. Also placed on the level plains, but evidently at a somewhat later date, were burial mounds constructed of two stone chambers, one enclosing the other, the inner one containing a wooden coffin. In these have been found the grey unglazed pottery of the period, together with an occasional iron axe or an halberd.

An important sepulture of this type is that of the first King of the Shiragi Supremacy, Buretsu by name, who was buried after the manner of his ancestors of the later years of the Three Kingdoms. It is described by Mr. Seiichi Taki in his published

---

[2] Mr. Kawai of Kyōto suggests that cone six or seven must have been used in the firing.

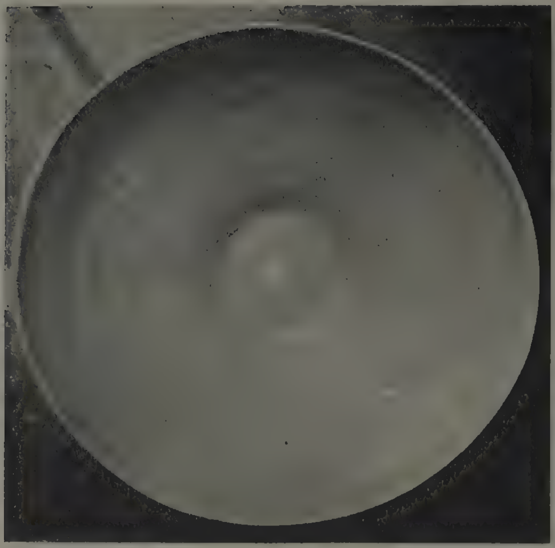


FIG. 37

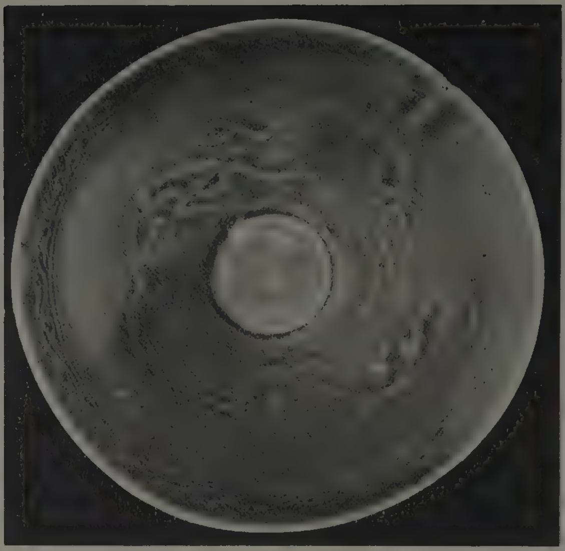


FIG. 38

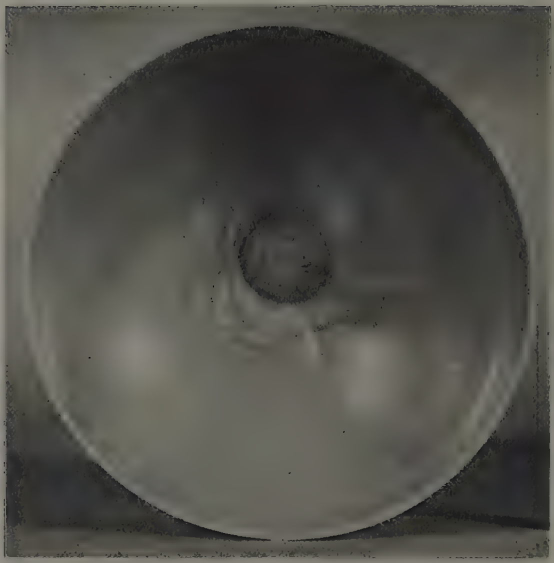


FIG. 39

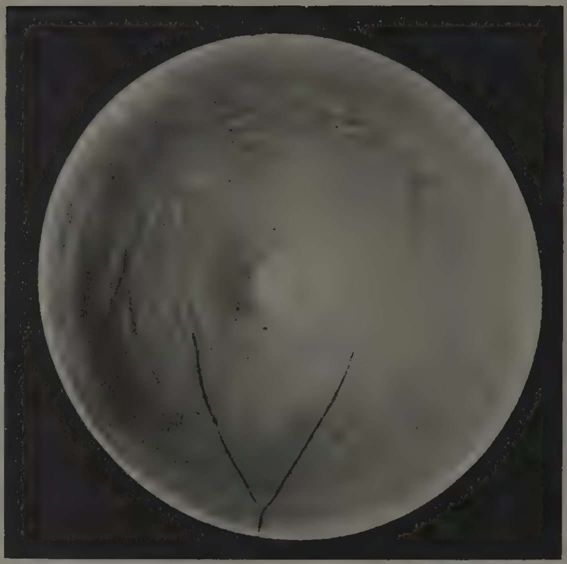


FIG. 40

PLATE XXXIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

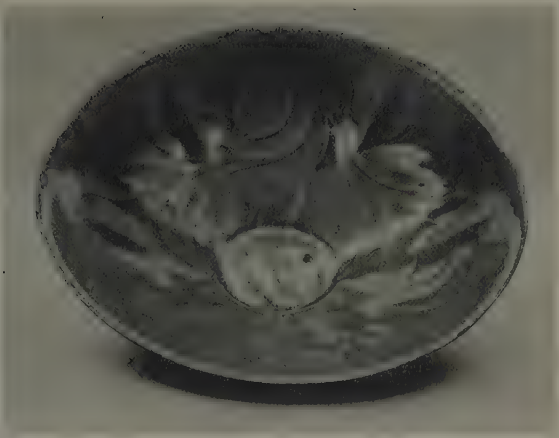


FIG. 41

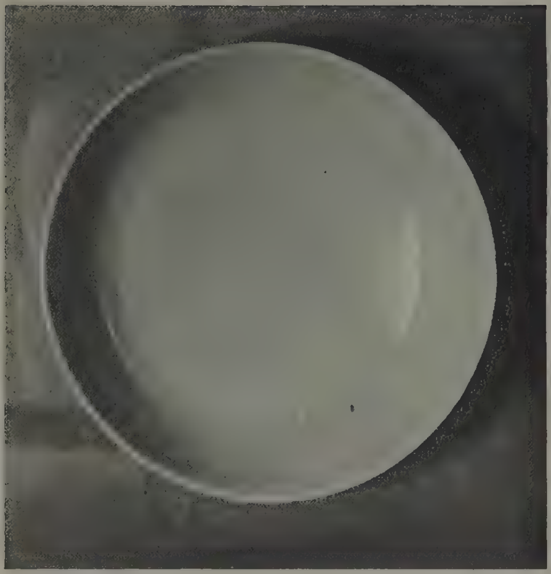


FIG. 42

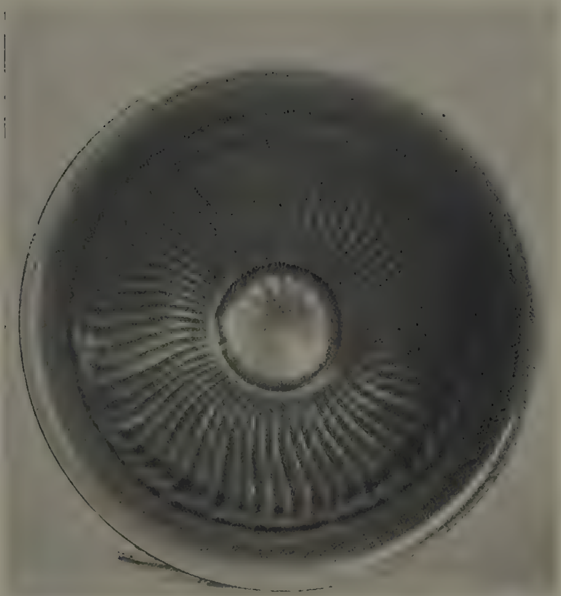


FIG. 43

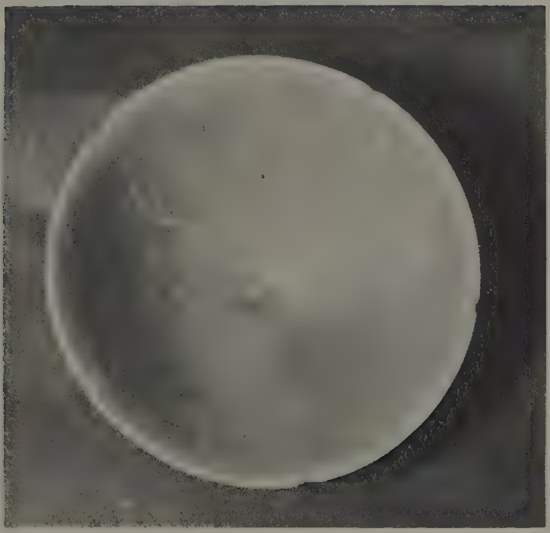


FIG. 44

PLATE XXXIV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

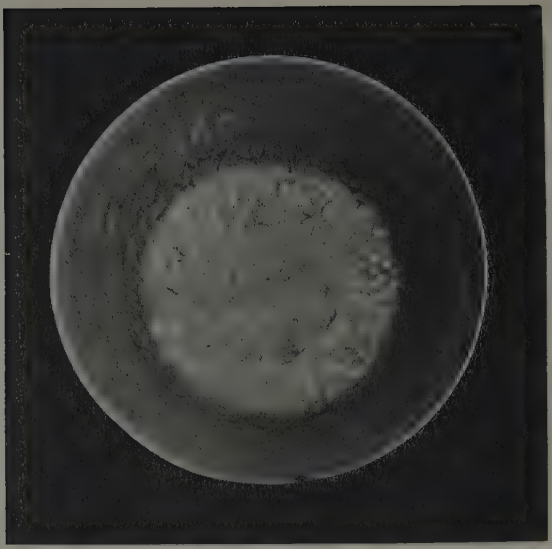


FIG. 45

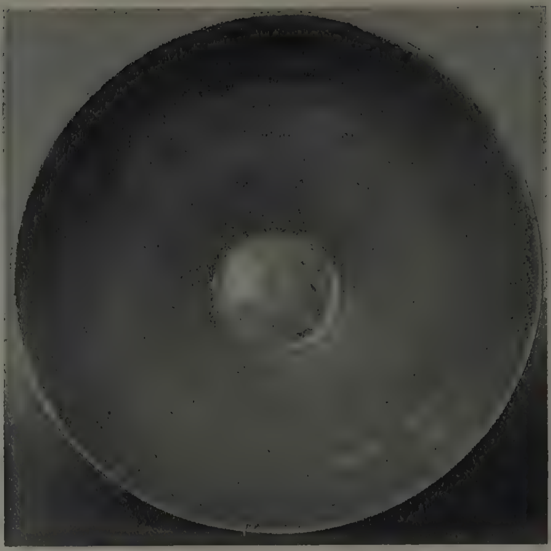


FIG. 47

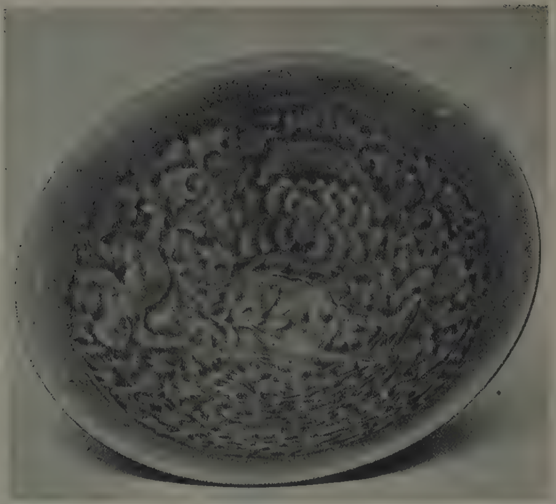


FIG. 46

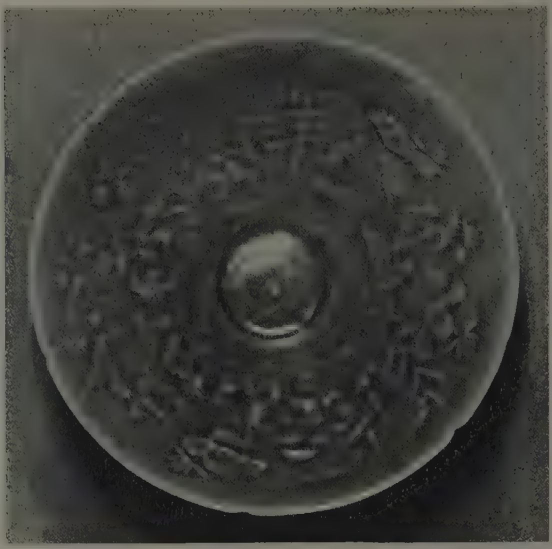


FIG. 48

PLATE XXXV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

report, *The Sepulchres of Keishū*. Translated, it reads as follows: "A good type of the later plain burials of the period just before the age of those built on the hills and before the influence of the T'ang dynasty was fully felt, is that of King Buretsu at Seigakudō Funaimen in Keishū. It is a conical mound some thirty-five feet high, and ninety in diameter at the base. It is walled about at the bottom with cut stone slabs to prevent its washing down. Two hundred feet east from the centre of the mound and thirty feet north, is the pedestal and the cap of a granite monument which was facing the South. The main part of the tablet which bore the inscription is unfortunately missing, but on the cap is an inscription in relief characters written by the second son of the King, Kinjinmon, who studied in China under the T'ang dynasty; this inscription reads: 'Erected in memory of the great King Buretsu.' It probably dates from the year of the King's death or from the first year of King Bumbu, his successor.

"Three hundred and eighty feet east from the centre of this mound is another, twelve feet high and fifty-two feet in diameter at the base. Seventy feet east of this in turn is a third, twenty-four feet high and seventy in diameter. It is believed, by certain families in the neighbourhood who claim royal descent, that the latter is the tomb of King Kinyo. This is not without probability as it seems to have been built in direct relation to that of Buretsu. Eighty-five feet to the east is the base of a tablet like that described above. As the body and cap are lost, nothing can be concluded from it except the fact that it faced the south like the other and that it probably was inscribed with the name of the royal personage who was buried in the mound to the west. The unnamed mound with which this monument was associated is similar to that of King Buretsu in form, and its base is surrounded by cut stones in the same way.

"These slabs of stone set about the bases of early mounds may have had an origin similar to that of the Japanese *haniwa*, being placed there as substitutes for the servants and officials who in pre-Buddhist days were buried with their lord. Later, in the days of the fully developed Shiragi Supremacy, they became *Koshi ishi* and *rankan ishi*, that is, stone bases and stone rails."

Mr. Taki goes on to prove that this form of burial was adopted by the Koreans from the Japanese, and that it supplanted the older form which was undoubtedly of Chinese origin. In brief, his reasons for the theory are that nothing of the sort is known in China, while the Japanese had been burying important personages in double stone cists for centuries before. Furthermore, intercourse between the Kingdom of Shiragi and the Empire of Japan had been intimate, while China was reached perforce at second-hand, or through the territory of the suspicious and often hostile Kings of Kōkuri, who held the approaches through North Korea and Manchuria. While convinced of the Japanese origin of this method of burial that lasted for a generation or so after the Shiragi dynasty had consolidated Korea—in short, until T'ang influence was dominant—Mr. Taki makes it clear that the so-called "gourd-form" burial mound which was so common in Japan, did not occur in Korea. What have been taken for gourd mounds in Korea are not the definitely constructed double tumuli in which the higher hill at the rear was round and the front hill square; but merely two distinct burials in juxtaposition, so close that the detritus from each has contributed to form a saddle-back between them.

With the full power of T'ang culture in Korea and the supremacy of the Shiragi rulers who held sway by virtue of Chinese legions and Chinese treasure, the burial of monarchs and their courtiers became more elaborate and obviously Buddhist in character.

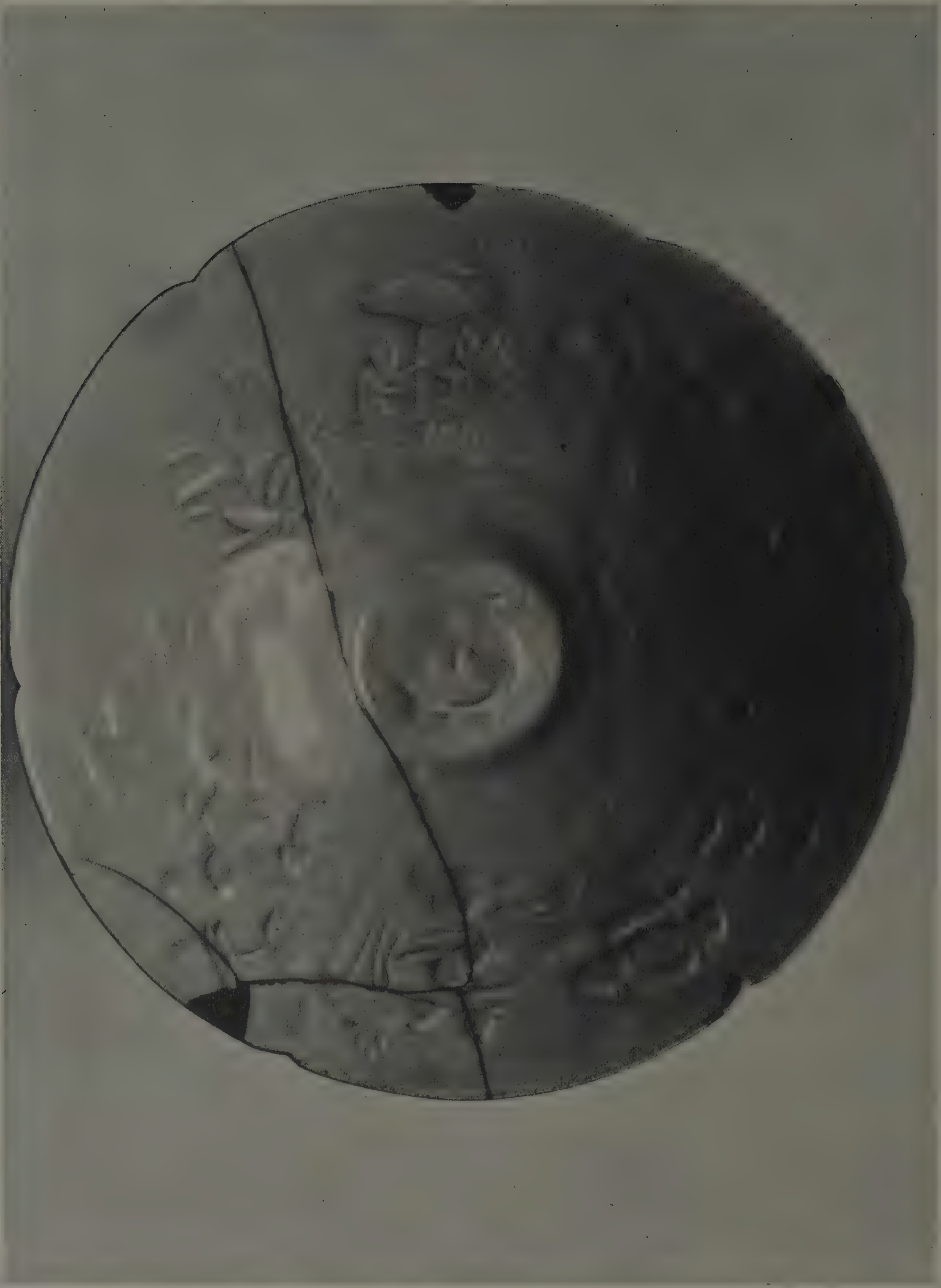


FIG. 49

Plate XXXVI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

III. THE KŌRAI DYNASTY.

The Kōrai dynasty was inaugurated in 918 by a wise and able king named Ōken, who conquered all Korea in 936. He protected Buddhism, and by so doing aided all the arts. Indeed Buddhism in Korea was at the height of its influence in the Kōrai period. According to some old documents Ōken built ten large temples in Keijō and King Busō built a luxurious pagoda with a silver interior. Anwaji, built in the Eisō dynasty, was of a most elaborate type, and the main hall of Empukuji temple with its pagoda more than two hundred feet high was said to be more beautiful than the palace itself. Although the only early Kōrai building still standing, the Hall of Endless Life at Fusekiji, is of the thirteenth century, it is evident from what remains of the original plan at Bukkokuji that architecture was highly developed when Ōken came to power.

Seisō, the sixth ruler (982–997) strengthened the regal power and organized the state into departments of civil service, military affairs, customs, penal laws, ceremony, crafts, education, and entertainment. It is conceivable that in a reign which put the crafts on a level with governmental affairs, the art of pottery began to develop.

Another very able king was Bunsō, in whose reign (1047–1082) intercourse was constant between Sung and Kōrai, and Sung civilization spread rapidly on the peninsula. A Kōrai ambassador went to the Chinese court in 1070, and the Sung sent a mission to Kōrai in 1087. It is likely that Sung pottery was imported by Kōrai together with Sung ideas.

Border troubles had in the meantime become serious. Already in the ninth year of Ōken's reign (926) the Khitan, a Tunguistic tribe, had conquered Bokkai, Kōrai's neighbour on the northeast, now part of Manchuria. In 1016, during the reign of Kensō (1010–1031), the Khitan [Japanese: Kittan] invaded Kōrai and were so easily victorious that they would have conquered the entire peninsula had not the war with Sung diverted the greater part of the Khitan strength. Another Tatar nation, the Nyoshin (or Nyuchi) was growing aggressive on the Kōrai frontier, but Eisō (1106–1122) in the second year of his reign attacked and routed them. In 1125 the Nyoshin helped Sung to drive off the Khitan, and in so doing added to their own power in China, finally founding the Kin or Golden dynasty which ruled north China from 1115 to 1235, contemporary with the Southern Sung dynasty.

It will be seen that the first two centuries of the Kōrai dynasty were comparatively peaceful; the wars were for the most part over the border and did not directly concern the Koreans, and the successful Khitan invasion was followed by a Khitan retirement. In the reign of the seventeenth king, Jinsō (1123–1146), civil wars began. This king's reign is of interest to students of Kōrai pottery because in 1123 a Chinese official named Jokyō visited Kōrai and wrote the famous book called the Kōrai Dzukyō, a minute account of his travels, in the course of which he mentioned the Kōrai celadon, which, in his day, was so highly prized.[3]

The eighteenth king, Gisō (1147–1170), was luxurious in all his tastes and consequently a great patron of the arts. In the book Kōrai Shi it is written of him: "He destroyed more than fifty houses belonging to the people, and in place of them built Taiheitei, his pleasure palace. He asked his son, the crown prince, to write a tablet for it, and he gathered together many precious things and many famous and rare flowers and set them to right and left of it. To the south of Taiheitei he made a pond and built a small pavilion called Kwanrantei, and to the north he built Yōtaitei, and he tiled it with blue[4] celadon." The elaborate forms of *zōgan* are supposed to belong to this period.

Kōrai had reached the apex of its prosperity. In the reign of King Minsō (1171–1197) a notorious minister named Sai Chūken, through his misrule and through the power he gave his own family, started the decline of Kōrai dominance.

[3] It is a deep misfortune that the illustrations of this no longer exist. [4] The word green can be equally well used here.

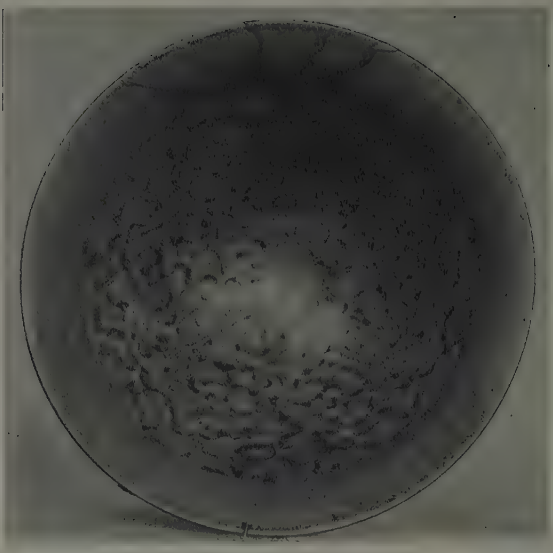


FIG. 50

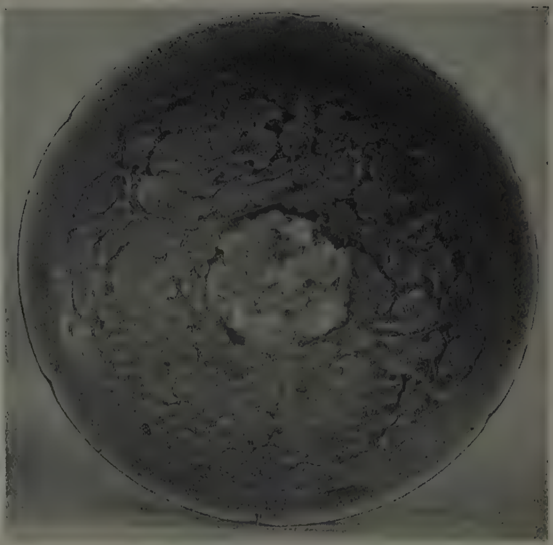


FIG. 51

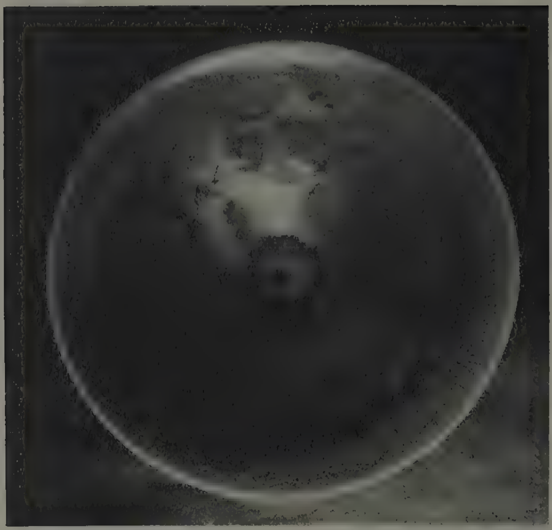


FIG. 52

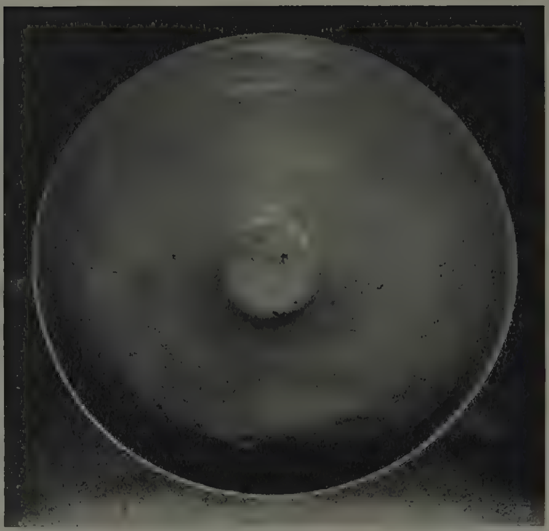


FIG. 53

PLATE XXXVII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

Then came the Mongols. It is hard today to conceive of a nation entirely composed of warriors, and to imagine that nation sweeping from European Russia to the shores of Japan. It was steady victory for the hordes of horsemen under Genghis Khan, and Korea could not stand against the flood of fighters that poured over her borders. Genghis had his way with Korea as he had with every country he attacked, save only Japan. In 1232 the Korean king Kōsō (1213–1259) and his court fled in unseemly haste to the island of Kōkwatō, near Chemulpo, and rested there in impotence. Mongol leaders were appointed to take the government in hand, Mongols exacted tribute and filled their pockets with taxes squeezed from the helpless farmers. The whole peninsula was in Mongol hands. From then on, many Korean kings were obliged to take refuge on Kōkwatō, where they lived and died and were buried in exile. Their tombs have been looted of much fine Korai pottery.

In 1260, when Gensō was nominally king, the Mongol warrior Kublai Khan was enthroned. The Yüan dynasty was firmly established in China. In 1279 it conquered Sung and ruled until 1333. In 1281 occurred the one setback to Mongol arms in the Far East; the forces invading Japan were destroyed by a tornado so terrible that the Mongols never again braved the Japan Sea. By this fortunate interference of the winds, Japan was saved from one of the worst influences that Eastern culture and art have ever known.

The Kōrai king Chūretsuō (1275–1308) had a son named Chūsenō, who married a Mongol princess. Chūsenō had been much in China and contributed to the increasing importance of Yüan in Kōrai. Most probably *egorai* pottery was made at this time, the inspiration coming from the Tzu Chou designs and technique.

From the time of the Mongol invasion to the inglorious end of the dynasty in 1392, Kōrai was vassal to China, and the four Kōrai rulers that succeeded Chūsenō all married Mongol princesses. Kyōbinnō (1352–1374) was the last ruler of any importance, and his name is chiefly known for his paintings, some of which are still in existence. The Yüan rulers were by this time weakened with civil wars, and paid small attention to Kōrai. But new invaders were coming; this time it was the Japanese whom Kōrai had to combat. The last king of Kōrai, Shingū, was ignorant and degenerate, and his officials were endlessly quarrelsome. Misrule, internal strife and assassination brought his reign to an end in 1392, just as the Ming dynasty was establishing itself in China. Thus the Kōrai period, dating from 936 to 1392 was contemporary with the Sung (960–1278), the Kin (1115–1234) and the Yüan (1206–1333) dynasties in China, and with the artistic periods of Fujiwara (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) in Japan.

Of its artistic products we have not space to speak at length, but we shall call attention to a few of them.

The Muryōjuden (Hall of Endless Life) of Fusekiji is the oldest Korai wooden building now standing. It is in Eishū, in Keishō-hokudō, and was probably built in the middle of the thirteenth century. In it is a wooden statue of Amida, of the same date. The pagodas were no longer square as in Shiragi times, but hexagonal and octagonal. Among the finest that remain are Kaishinji, Gesshōji, Genkaji, Keitenji. The stone tomb of the Empress Kyōbinnō in Kaijō is interesting.

In temples scattered through the peninsula there are many Kōrai bronzes, which differ in several characteristics from those of China and Japan. Incense burners, tiles, spoons, and many other things for household or temple use have been found.

Of great interest to Buddhist scholars is the fact that the best edition of the Daizōkyō (tripitaka) ever made was begun in the Kensō period, under the eighth king of Kōrai, and finished in the Bunsō period. The compilation consisted of about six thousand volumes. A subsequent edition was made by Giten, a famous monk and scholar of the Bunsō period, who brought from his travels in China four thousand

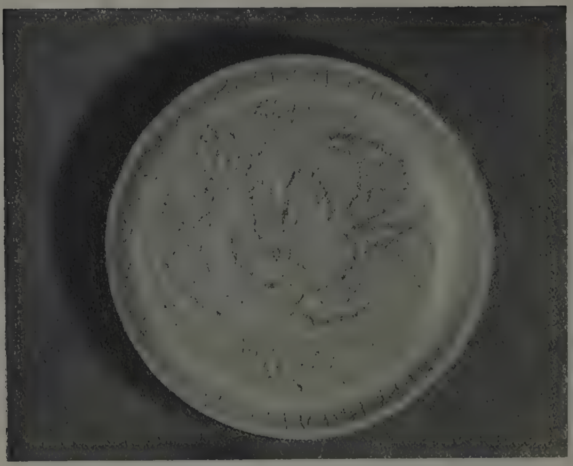


FIG. 54

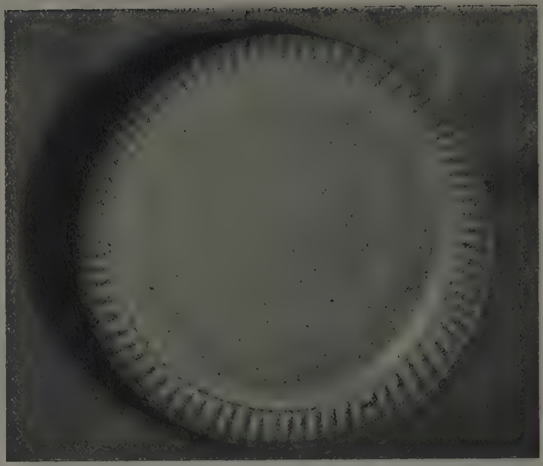


FIG. 55

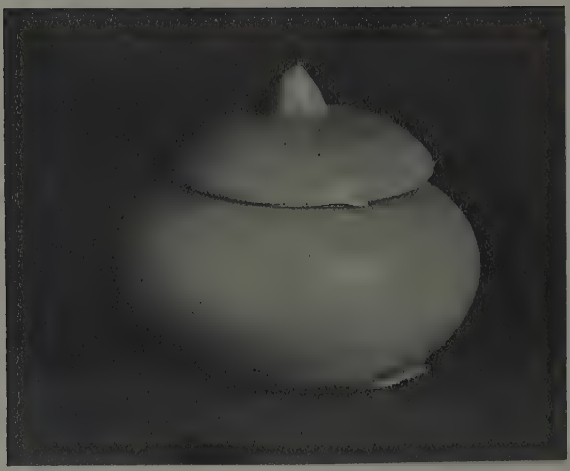


FIG. 56

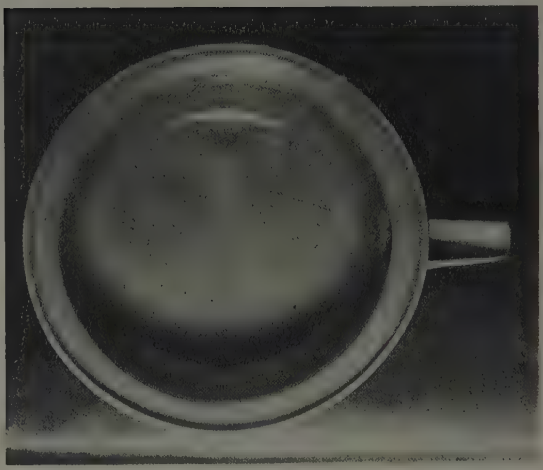


FIG. 57

PLATE XXXVIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

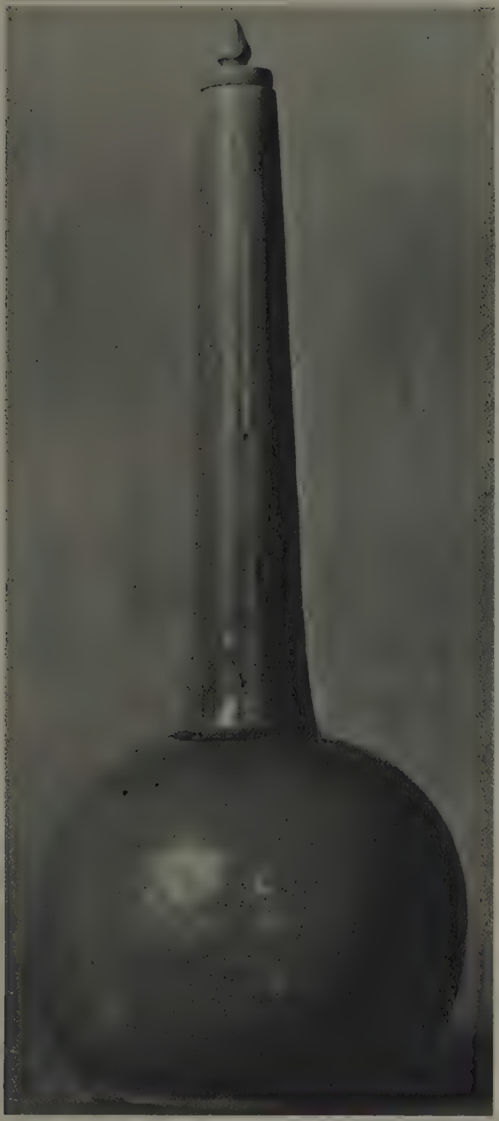


FIG. 58

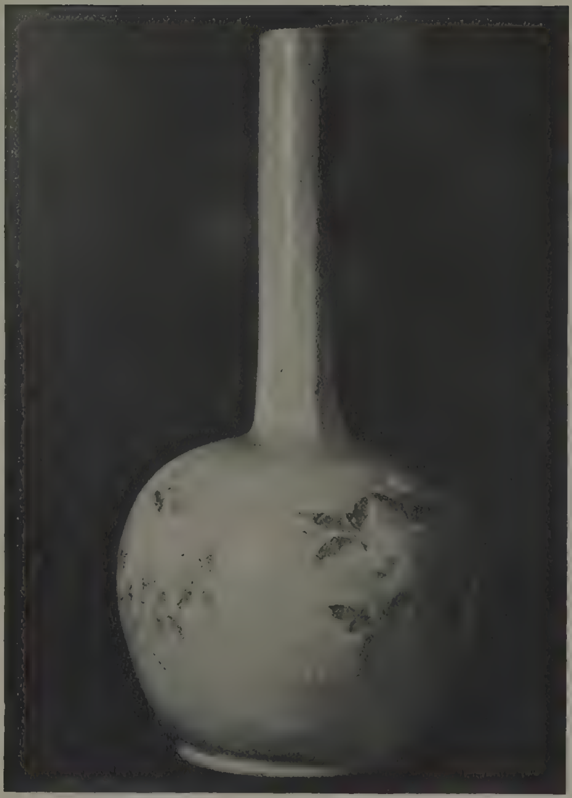


FIG. 59

Plate XXXIX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

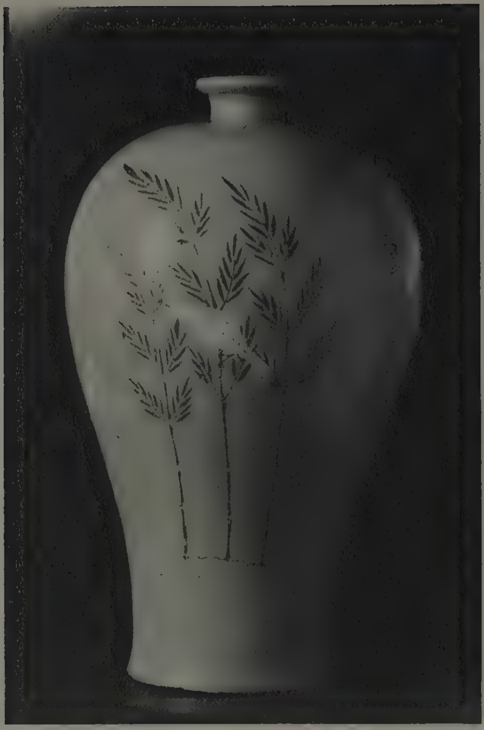


FIG. 60

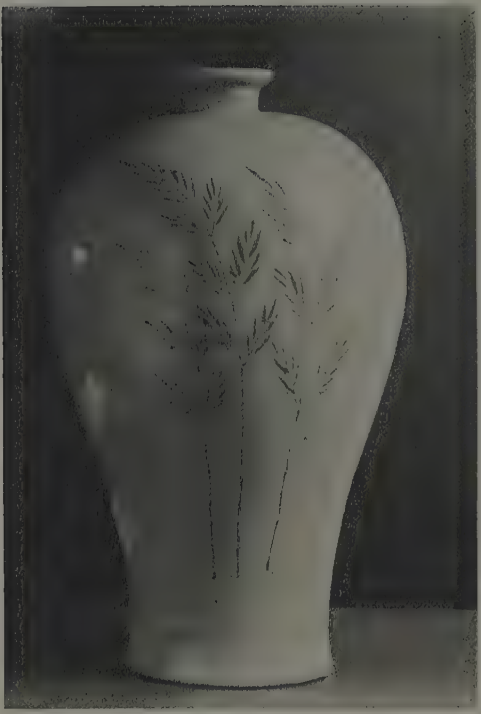


FIG. 61

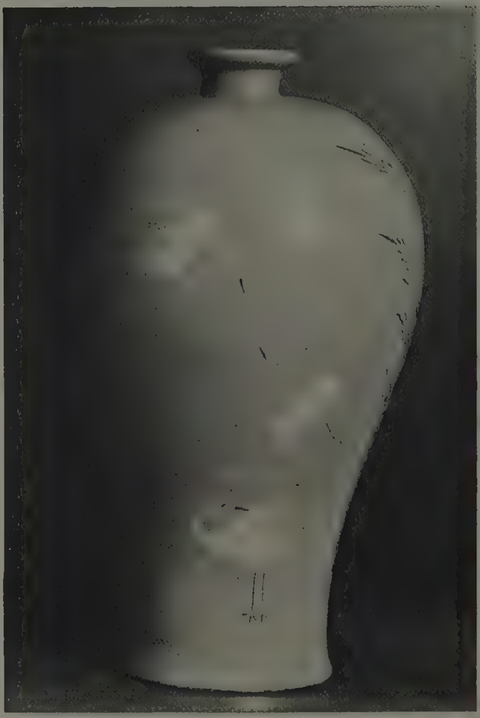


FIG. 62

Plate XL. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* seven hundred and forty sacred books. These editions were burned in the Mongol invasion in 1232, and another was begun in 1237 and finished in sixteen years. The compiler was Tōshuki of Kaitaiji, and he worked at Kōkatō. His is considered the most accurate edition ever made of the Daizōkyō. More than eighty thousand woodblocks for this edition are still extant in Kaiinji in Keisho-nandō.

With the fall of Kōrai, a new dynasty, Ri, came to power. We have no space to consider the history of the new state, which the Japanese call Chōsen, from 1392 to the annexation by Japan in 1910. Perhaps the most important event of that period in the history of pottery is the fact that Taikō Hideyoshi brought potters from Chōsen when he returned to Japan from his successful invasion at the end of the sixteenth century. It so happened that an expedition which doubtless had its origin in the personal ambition of that great warrior resulted in the inauguration of Japan's manufacture of ceramics. Hideyoshi's patronage of the arts of peace extended to the ceremony; scores of rough bowls were fetched to Japan by him and by his officers for use in tea drinking, and are listed in the contemporary catalogues of temple possessions. Some few, such as the Ido of Daitokuji (one of the five great Zen temples) near Kyōto, remain today, attested by the legends on their brown boxes and by the testimonials of tea masters of succeeding generations. Wrapped in their bags of brocade, which are themselves now rendered priceless by long association, such bowls form the treasure of the ancient families and of the collections which are being formed by the modern plutocracy. When such specimens change owners it is for scores of thousands of dollars. Equally fine examples of precisely the same age and kilns, lacking only the glamour of tradition, fetch less than a hundred dollars in the open market. These Korean imports to Japan are all of the Ri period, and many of them were barely a generation old when Hideyoshi marched on his campaign.

IV. Kōrai Celadon.

The Kōrai celadons, however, being almost always found in sepultures, had less value in tea ceremony than those imported pieces of the Ri period, and have only in the last twenty years been considered fit subjects for collection. Today, the prices of Kōrai wares are nearly as great as those paid for Sung pieces.

Burial alone has saved the examples that remain to us and the graves have been extensively robbed for scores, if not hundreds of years. The Koreans have, however, a strong religious dislike of using objects that were buried with the dead, and for this reason they themselves place no great value on pottery that was so used, but hope rather to find in the tombs objects of precious stone or metal.

The finest examples of Kōrai wares have been found in tombs in or near Kaijō, and on the island of Kōwatō. Good examples come from the districts of Keishō, Zenra, and Chūsei; they are rarely found in the district of Kōkai, Kōgen, Kankyō, and Heian. It is interesting to find that the custom of burying pottery with the dead was not confined to rich people, but was common in every class of Kōrai society.

The Riōke Museum of Seoul made investigations of the kilns at Taikō-men, Zenrā-nandō, Kōshingun Province in 1914 and brought to Seoul a number of fragments which are on view at the Museum. A brief description of the site may be found in the enlarged second edition of the Riōke Hakubutsukan Shozōhin Shashinjō. The earliest known reference to the Kōshingun kilns in Korean literature is in Ekisaishu by Ri Saiken, who lived in the time of Chūretsuō (1275–1308).

It is unfortunate that so much digging and looting was done before the arrival of Japanese scholars and archaeologists, and that it is therefore impossible to get exact data concerning individual pieces.

As a rule the collector is wise who doubts the royal origin of his examples. It must always be remembered in connection with Korean pottery that the pieces are first

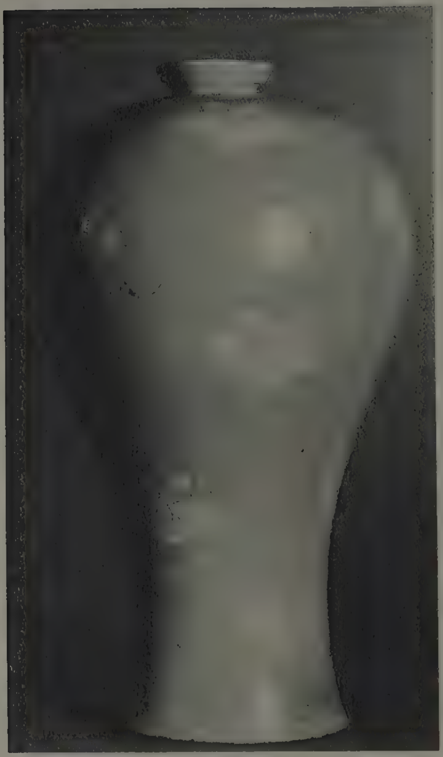


FIG. 63

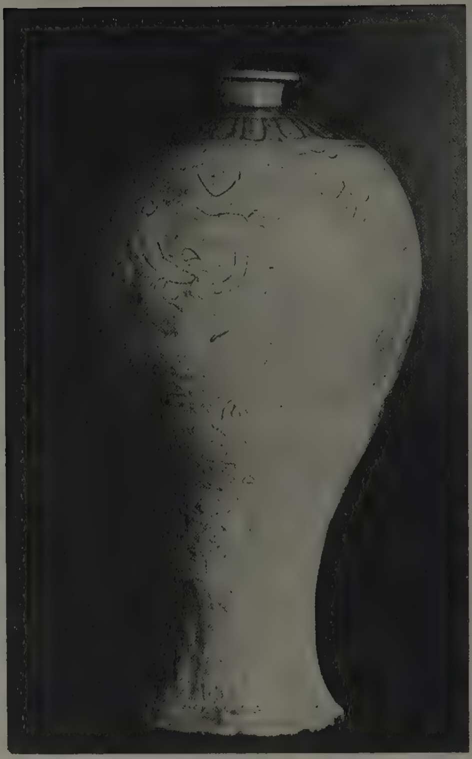


FIG. 65

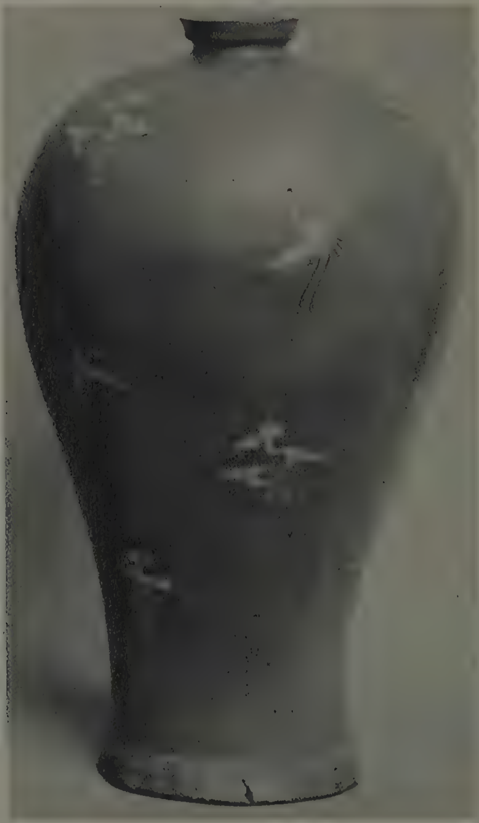


FIG. 64

PLATE XLI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* taken by stealth from the tombs, then turned over to none too scrupulous dealers who pass them on to others. In the early days of collecting one might see the same piece of pottery in the hands of perhaps ten of the Seoul dealers. The original finders are afraid of being penalized for robbery if they confess where they made their finds, and of having their secret places mined by the men to whom they confess. Dated inscriptions are too good a clue to the location of the looted tomb, and have often been separated from the other finds.

The circumstances all militate against true ascriptions. Now, however, the subject has been taken up by Japanese experts, and for eighteen years the brothers Asakawa have travelled over the length and breadth of Korea visiting ancient and modern kiln sites and bringing back fragments from each. When their results are published we shall have definite facts by which to judge examples. They presented me with eight pieces from the great kilns at Taikō-men, Kōshingun, Zenrā-nandō, and these pieces are now at the Fogg Museum in Cambridge where they may be studied by those interested. Photographs of two fragments are illustrated at the end of this article.

The Koreans in their burial rites made use of what the Japanese call *fūsuisetsu* (Chinese, *feng shui*) the "wind and water" theory. I quote from the Korean Repository, Volume I, p. 171:

"The choice of the site of the grave is considered a matter of great importance to Koreans. The semi-globular mounds are invariably placed upon hillsides. While they may be placed upon slopes facing any direction, a south exposure is preferred; probably for reasons such as carry weight in China, the belief that inasmuch as warmth and life proceed from the south, and cold and frost come down from the north, that grave is most fortunately located which is at the same time sheltered from the north and open to the good influences supposed to emanate from the south. But if that were all, the choice of a grave site were a simple matter. There are many intricate points connected with the subject which only the initiated are versed in. The relatives are obliged to consult a *chigwan* or geomancer. He is a learned man who by long study of books upon the subject in his possession, knows all the superstitions relating to the good and bad influences supposed to be in the ground. He must choose the burial site. It is believed that a well-chosen site brings rank and money and numerous sons to the children of the one buried there."—[Rev. Daniel L. Gifford].

The tombs, therefore, are placed by means of divination and the general rules of geomancy are sufficiently well-known to be of help to modern robbers. With these rules in mind, the looters repair to a likely place and set to work to find tombs of which there are often only the slightest traces above ground. However, the important Korean dead were buried under a more or less adequate arrangement of blocks of stone, sometimes amounting to a vaulting with stone posts leading toward it. Where the looters detect a hollow place by tapping the earth with a metal rod, they dig.

Other objects beside pottery have been found in the stone coffins and the tombs; hair ornaments, buckles, bracelets, amulets, rings of bronze, gold and silver; seals, boxes, ewers, bowls, razors, mirrors of bronze or various alloys sometimes inlaid with silver, mirror stands, silver-gilt scabbards and needle cases, hawk bells, stone ewers, stone and glass beads, stone boxes and bowls and so forth. Unfortunately most of these objects were taken from the ground before the Japanese scientists arrived, and all those leaving telltale facts, such as coins and dated inscriptions, were separated from the other finds or disregarded. Today, however, the Museums of Korea are making archæological finds of the utmost value in completing the history of Korean arts and crafts.

A noticeable thing about these unearthed pieces of Kōrai pottery is that they show none of the unmistakable signs of use. With a very few exceptions the bowls and boxes and pitchers give no evidence of having held any substance that would affect

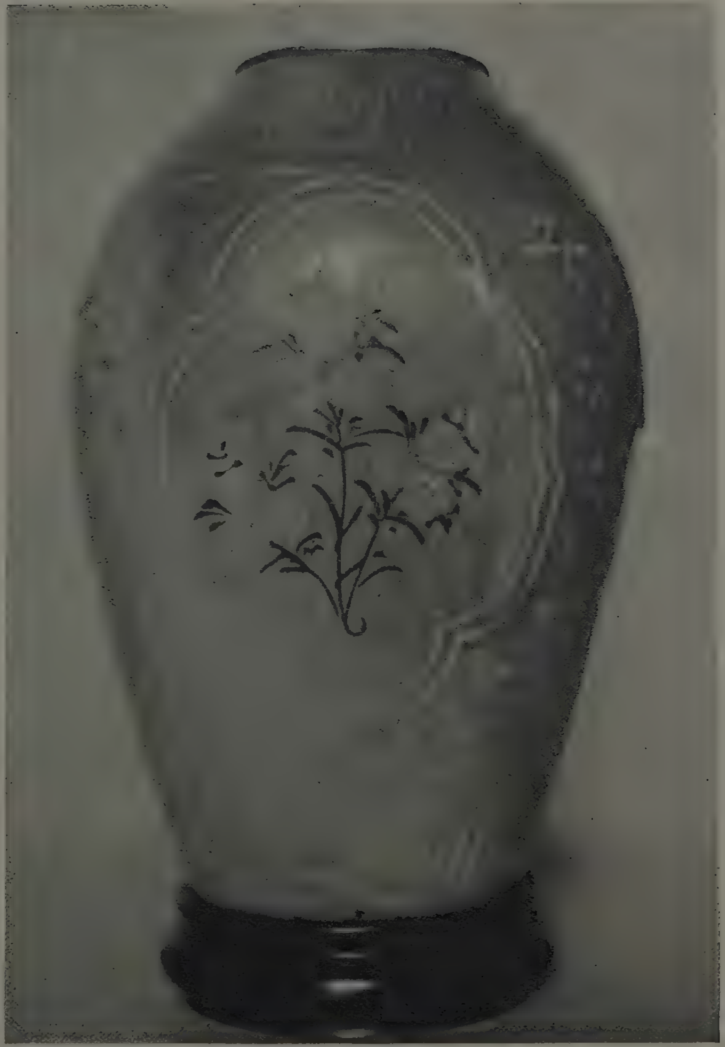


FIG. 66

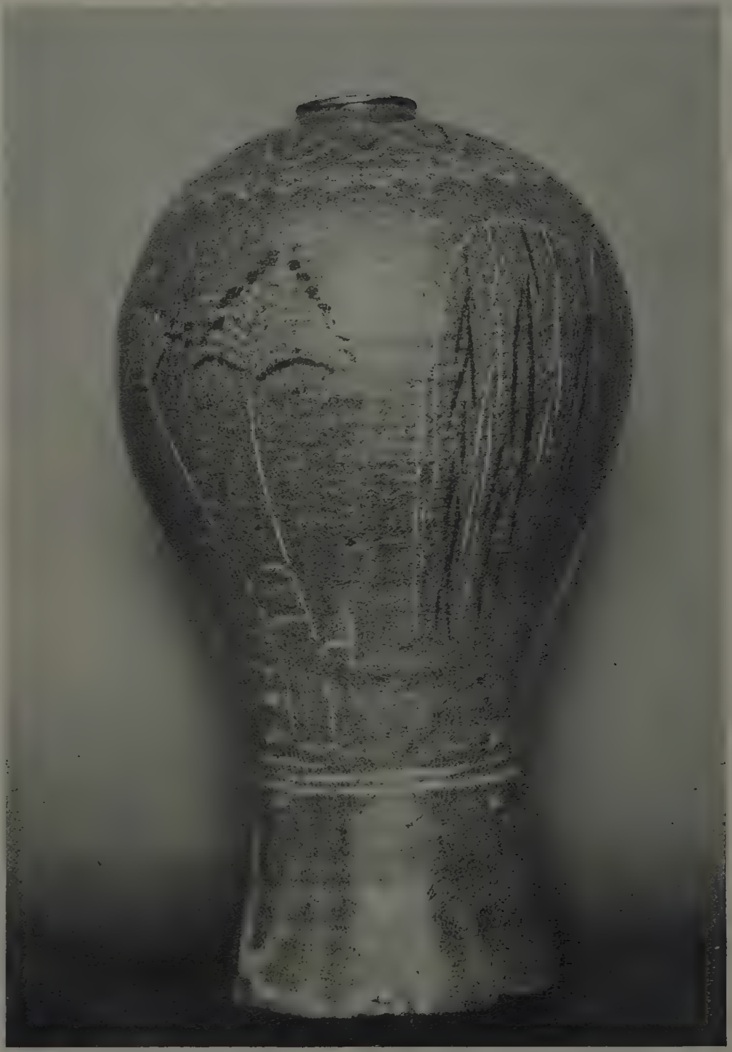


FIG. 67

PLATE XLII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* the colour of the glaze. A number of the small boxes still contain cosmetics. When the glaze seems aged, it appears to be from the decomposing effect of chemical elements in the burial earth rather than the mechanical abrasion that comes from handling, and as the Koreans customarily used coffins made of stone slabs the pottery was well protected. Obviously the vessels were buried fresh from the kiln. This gives weight to the theory of Japanese collectors that they were intended for burial use only, although their shapes were those common in the household.

The Koreans themselves refer to this pottery as Kōryo chaki, meaning Kōrai stoneware. Until Japanese dealers began offering large prices for good pieces they were not greatly valued by the natives. The superstitious tillers of the ground believed that great calamities came to any man who kept a piece of pottery inadvertently dug up. So we read of these wares being so cheap that they were used as kitchen utensils by the servants of the missionaries a few years ago.

Although the dates of the graves prove that Korean pottery of the most developed types was made throughout the Kōrai period, few literary records of it are available at present. The Chinese book on pottery called *Ching Tê Chen Tao Lu*, History of the potteries of Ching Tê Chen, published 1815 by Ch'ing Ting Kuei and translated by M. Stanislas Julien and others, speaks of foreign pottery, including that "formerly made in Korea" which it defines as follows:

"Kao-li Yao. Korean pottery. . . . These pots are very thin and their glaze is somewhat like that of Ching Tê Chen. Some resemble those made at Lung Ch'uan; others have little flowers and resemble the pottery called *pai ting*, that is to say white Ting vases of the Northern Sung period (1004–1127). If they are decorated with sprays of white flowers, they are considered in the kingdom (of Korea) to be of inferior value. Generally speaking they resemble the pottery of Yüeh of Sze Chou and the pottery called *Pi-se Yao*, literally pottery of a hidden colour. But the cups in the shapes of gourds called Tsun, and the jars in the shape of a lion called Lu, are considered very remarkable."

V. Colours of Chinese Celadon.

According to the same author the pottery of Lung Ch'uan came from the province of Chekiang and the pieces were of a colour that M. Julien translates as blue and that Bushell believes to be green. Père d'Entrecolles, writing in the first quarter of the eighteenth century from his parish in Ching Tê Chen speaks of the Lung Ch'uan pots as olive-coloured; in his day they were called "Ch'ing Ko," literally green fruit, and according to him a "fruit that resembles the olive." M. Julien is of the firm belief that blue was the dominant colour of the Lung Ch'uan wares.

Mr. Bushell says that the glaze at this time was called generally the "colour of distant hills," and that the confusion of colours by M. Julien is due to the fact that the Chinese word *ch'ing*, originally meaning "green of growing plants," is used in ceramics for every shade of clear blue and clear green, from what we call "celadon" to the blue "hawthorne" vases. He goes on to say:

"Chen T'ing-kuei, the editor of the T'ao-lu (Book X, f. 8) says: 'For ancient porcelain *ch'ing* (green) was preferred as harmonizing with the different kinds of tea and wine, while for the banqueting table plain porcelain, or white painted in blue, is the best.' He quotes a series of authors of the T'ang dynasty to prove that the colour preferred was really green, and not like the *ch'ing* of the *ch'ai* porcelain of the tenth century, which was described at the time as being "blue as the sky, brilliant as a mirror, thin as paper, and resonant as a musical stone."

He adds: "Among the porcelain called by this one name of *ch'ing* . . . . is porcelain . . . . light blue . . . . pale emerald . . . . deep green (Lung ch'uan), while in that of Yuëh-chou and Yo-chou it approached the bluish-green of some silk dyes."

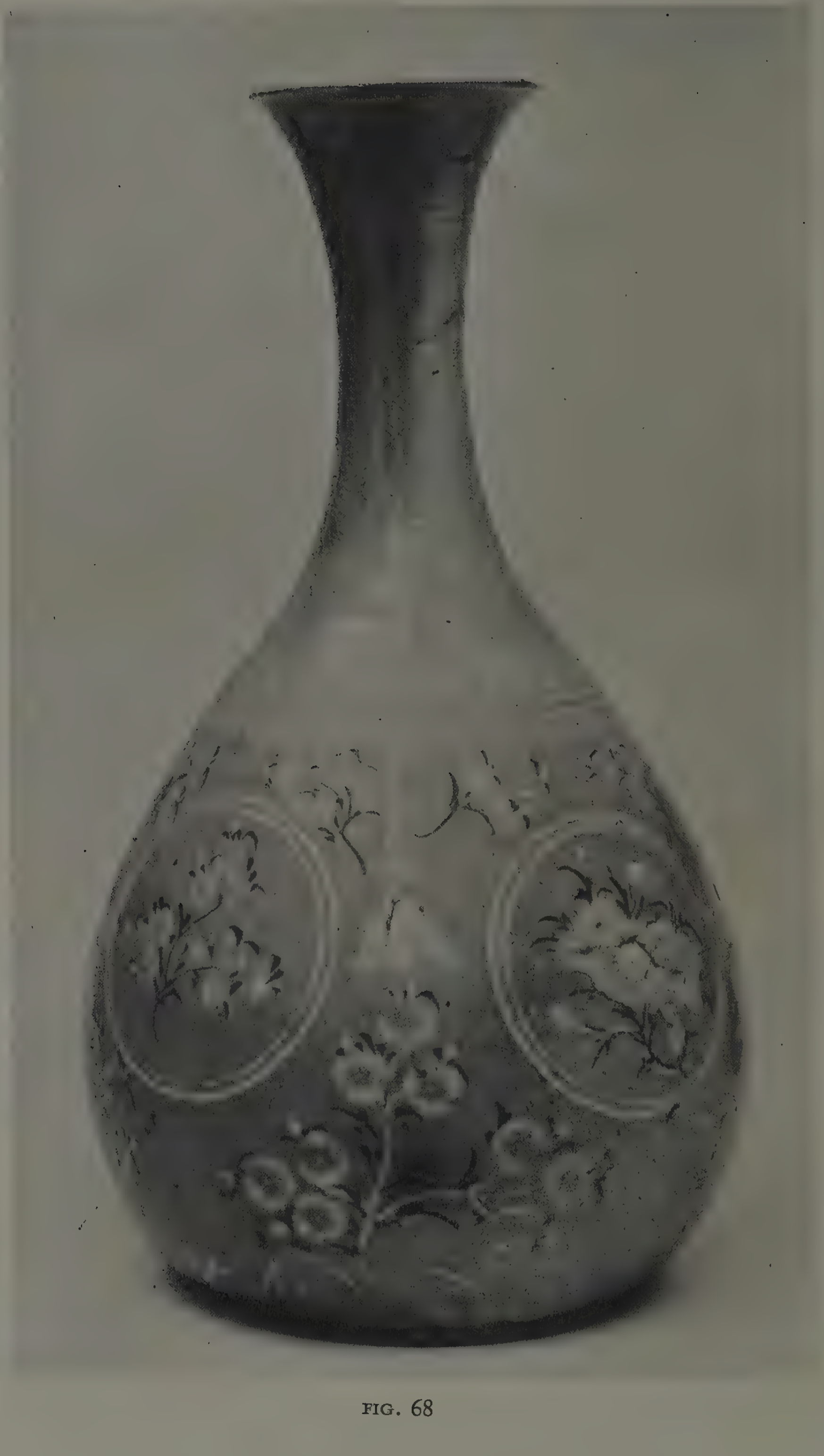


FIG. 68

PLATE XLIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

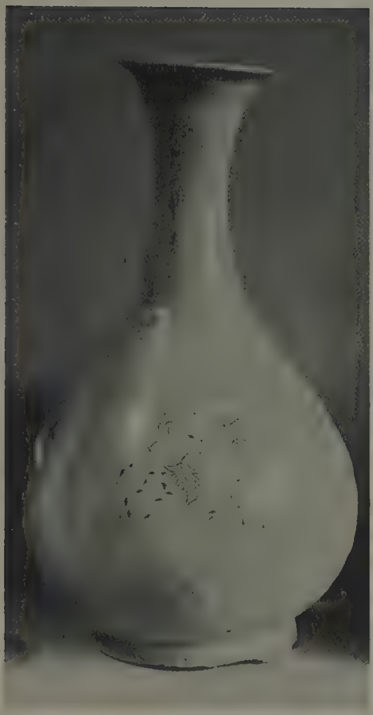


FIG. 69

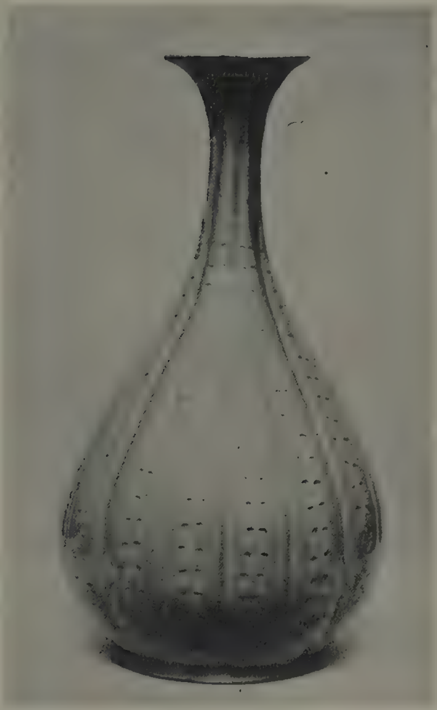


FIG. 70

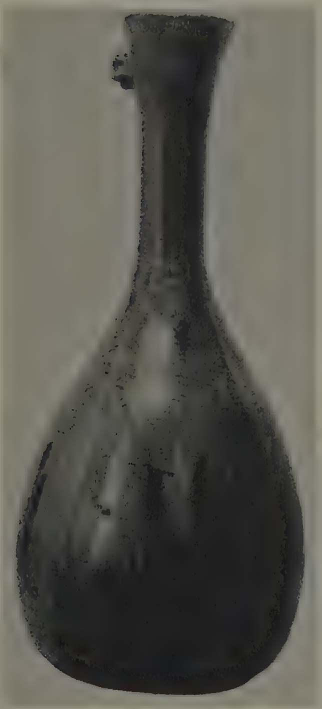


FIG. 71

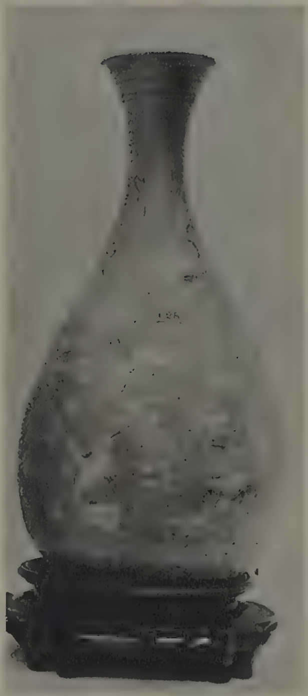


FIG. 72

Plate XLIV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

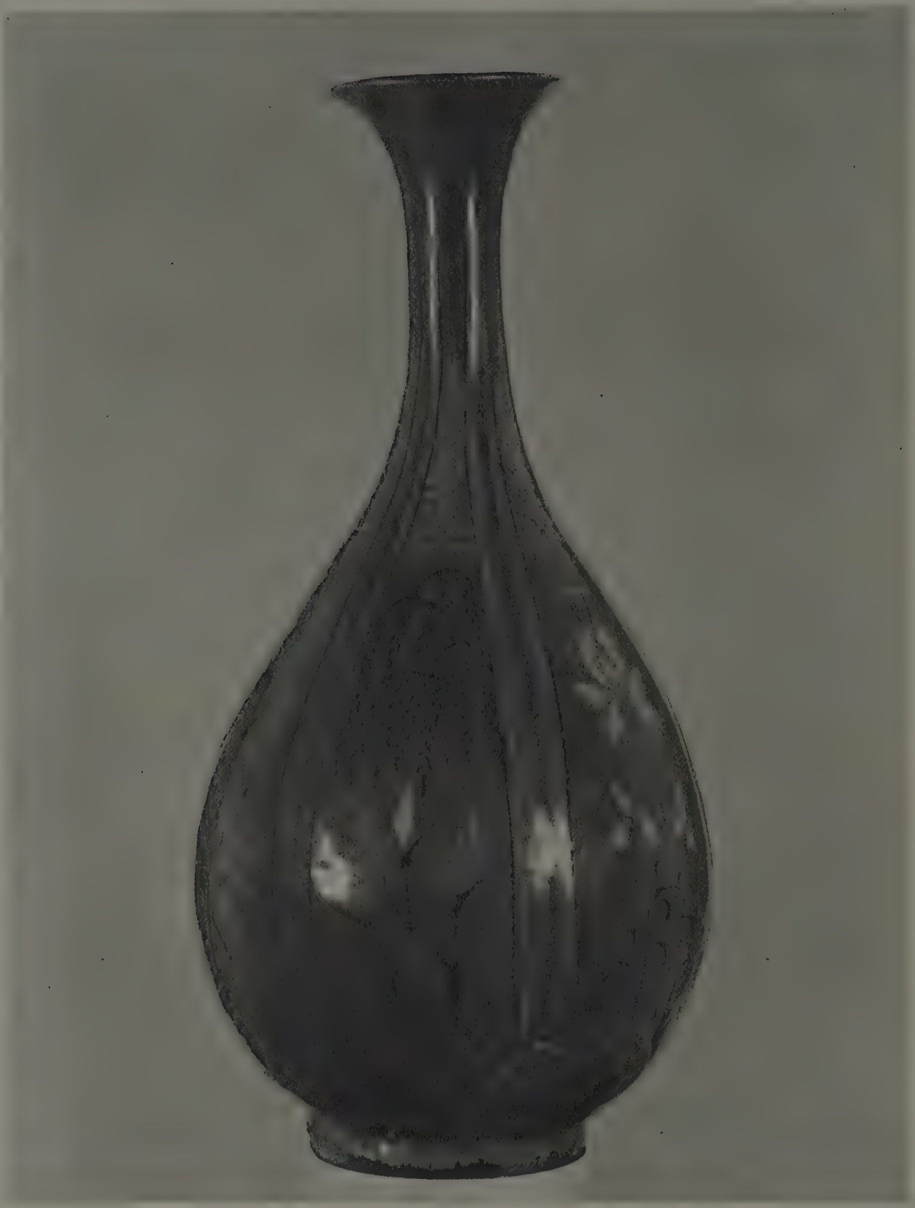


FIG. 73

PLATE XLV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

From this it will be seen that Lung Ch'uan wares were almost surely green in colour.

The *Ko-ku Yao-lun* by Tsao-Chao, published in 1387, says of Kaoli (Korean) porcelain:

"It is of pale green colour and resembles Lung ch'uan ware. Some are covered with white sprays of flowers,[5] but this kind is not worth much money."

The second Chinese pottery with which the author of the *Ching Tê Chen Tao-lu* compares Korean wares, is that of Yüeh. The pottery of Yüeh was begun during the T'ang dynasty in Yüeh-chou which corresponds with the present Ch'ao Hsing Fu in the province of Chekiang. "Some of this pottery is said to resemble jade, and some, ice. When it is blue it is better suited to use in tea ceremonies for it gives the tea a green colour."

In the book called *T'ang Chi-Sze-K'ao* it is written: "Truly the pottery of Yüeh gave birth to that of Prince Ch'ien which was called *Pi-se yao* (literally pottery of a hidden colour)."

The vases of Jou-Chou when at their best were called Yü-kouo-t'ien ch'ing, meaning literally blue of the sky after rain. This name originated according to tradition as follows: A maker of pottery addressed a memorial to the Emperor asking for a model. The Emperor replied that in future the pottery for the palace should be blue as the sky after rain seen through the cloud rifts.

The pottery called Pi-se yao is of peculiar interest. "It was made in the country of Wu and Yüeh. When Ch'ien Liu reigned (in 907) he ordered pottery for the palace to be called made at Yüeh Chou." This pottery, made "for the sole use of the sovereign" and never used or seen by commoners, was called Pi-se yao, "pottery of a hidden colour." It differed from other Yüeh yao in brilliance and what the Chinese writer, according to M. Julien's translation, called "purity." This pottery was almost surely green, according to the following extract from Mr. Bushell's book.

"A verse is quoted in one *T'ao-lu* (Book XI, f. 2) from a Selection of Poetry of the T'ang dynasty, as having been composed by Hsü Yin, to accompany a service of Pi-se teacups made for presentation to the Emperor, which runs:

"Like bright moons cunningly carved and dyed with
spring water;
Like curling disks of thinnest ice, filled with
green clouds;
Like ancient moss-eaten bronze mirrors lying upon
the mat;
Like tender lotus leaves full of dewdrops floating
in the river-side!"

The manufacture of this porcelain, which is said to have begun in the T'ang period, stopped at the accession of the Ming dynasty in 1368.

So we find from the above literary references, that the Koreans are said to have made vases of the colour of *Pai-ting*, which was white, and of Lung Ch'uan, Yüeh, Ju-chou, and Pi-se, which were all of them greenish, jade-like, in fact very like those Chinese wares that we call celadon.

Corroboration of the literary accounts already given is to be found in Mr. Bushell's book. I shall quote Bushell's translation of the passage in the notes at the end of this article, using here a translation made by Mr. M. Yanagi. In Volume thirty-two of the book called in Japanese, *Korai Dzukyo* (written in 1123), appears the following passage:

"Blue coloured wares are called Hishoku by Koreans. In recent years their workmanship has become ingenious and the glaze is most excellent. They make a wine

---

[5] Undoubtedly the white inlay or *zōgan.*

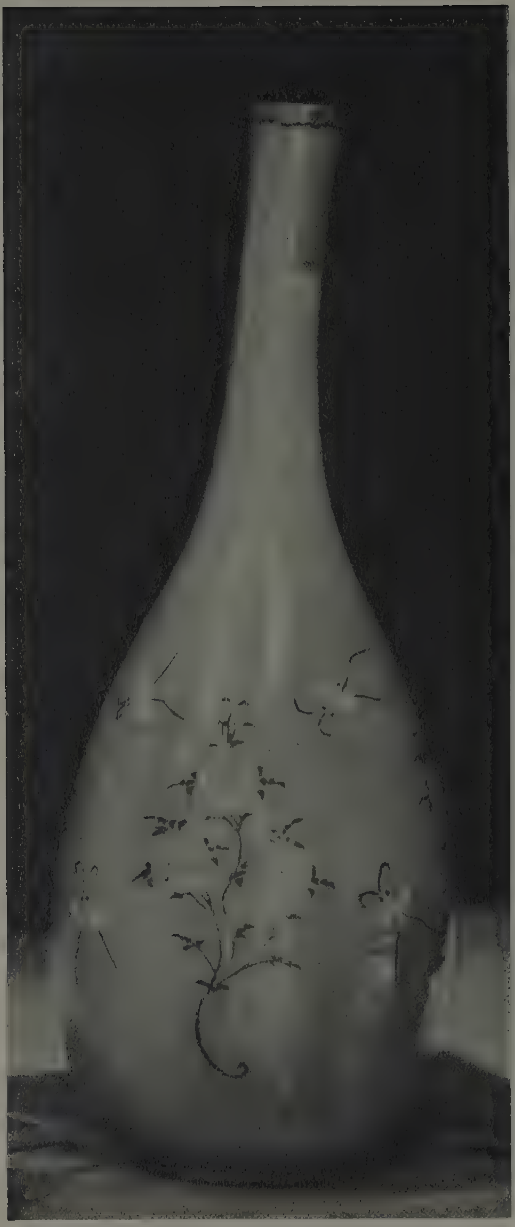


FIG. 74

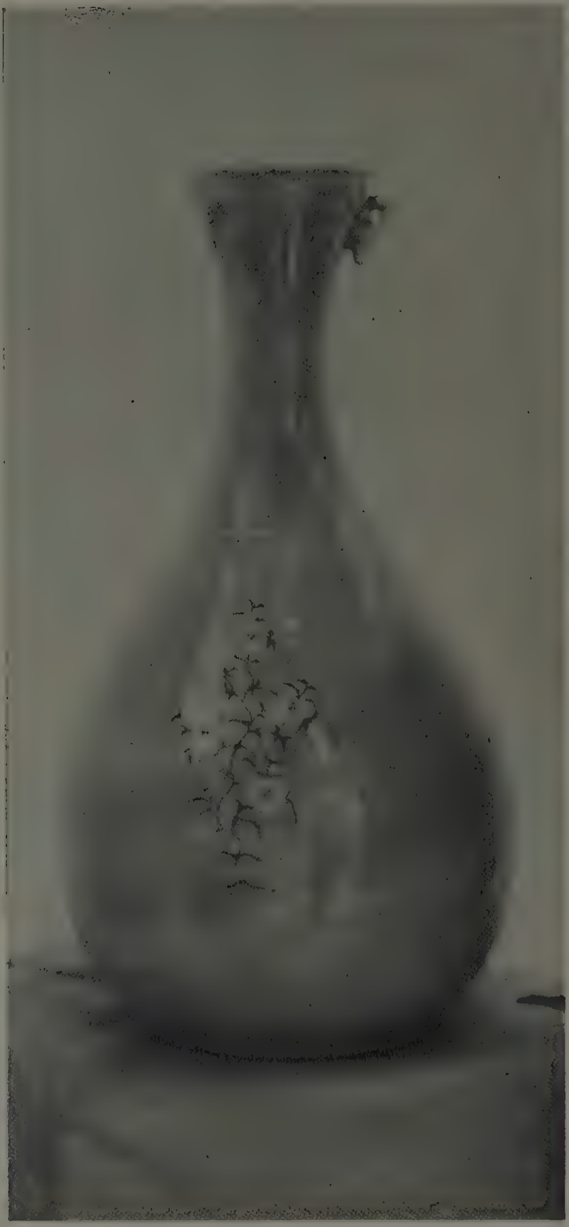


FIG. 75

Plate XLVI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

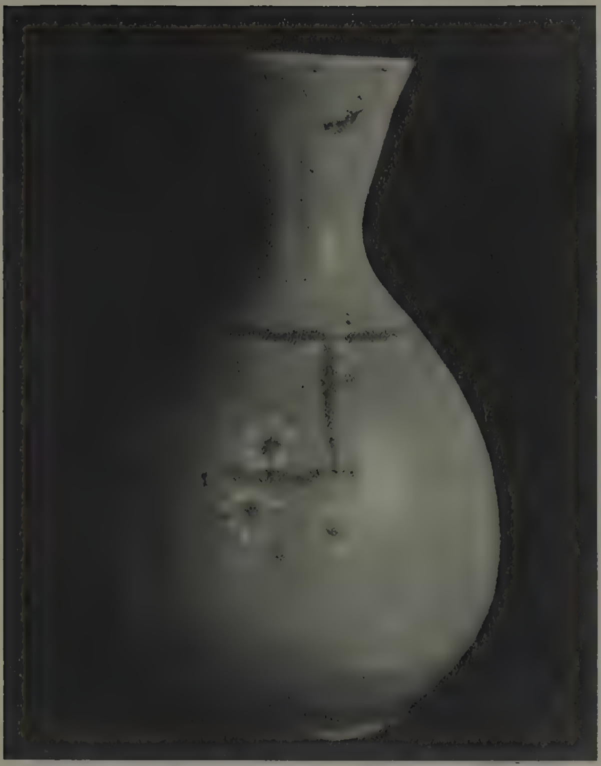


FIG. 76

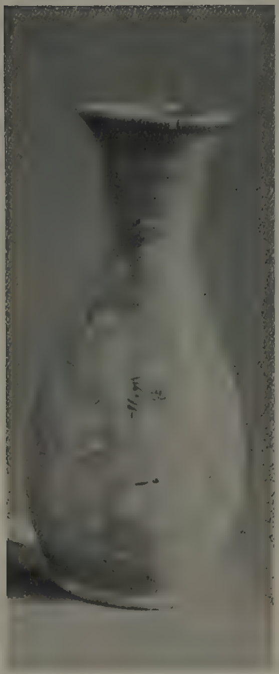


FIG. 78

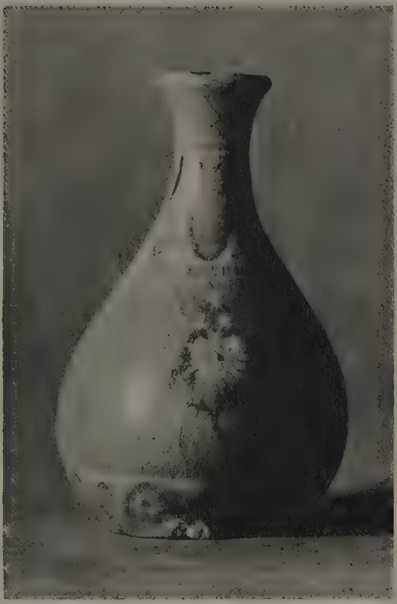


FIG. 77

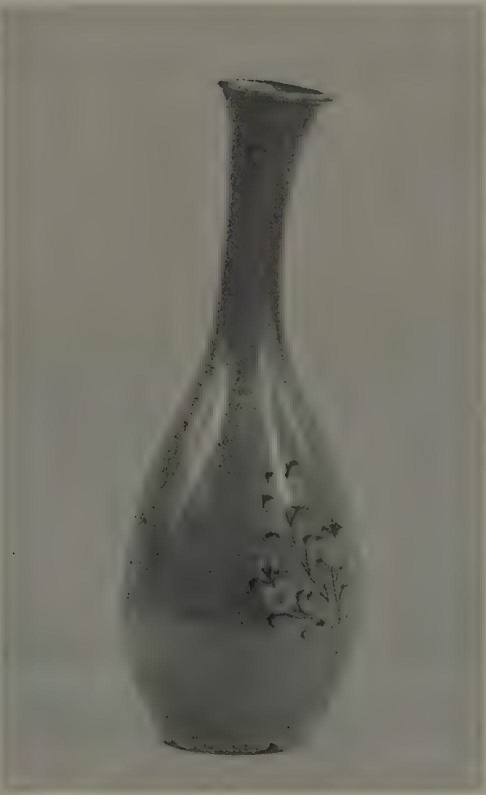


FIG. 79

PLATE XLVII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

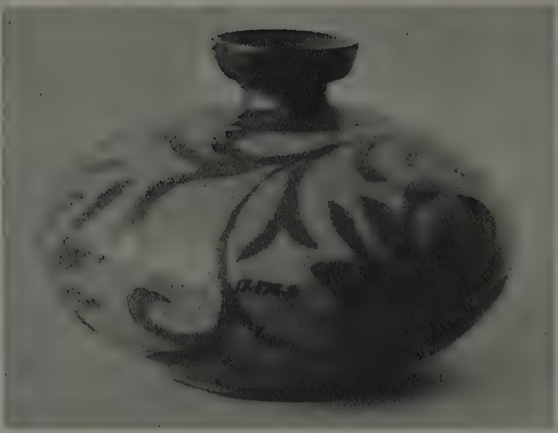


FIG. 80

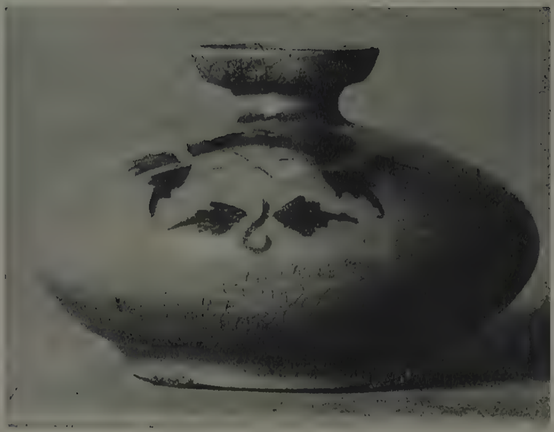


FIG. 81

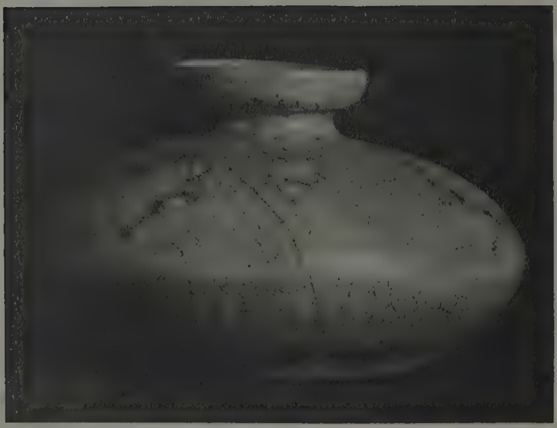


FIG. 82

PLATE XLVIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* bottle shaped like a melon, and it has a little lotus-shaped lid with a duck squatting on it. They also make bowls, cups, jars, flower vases, pots for hot water, all imitating the shapes of *Tei* ware, so we do not illustrate them here. The wine bottle is unusual. Especially fine is their pottery incense burner shaped like a Chinese lion, from which the smoke comes out; this too is of *Hishoku*. The lower part of it is a lotus, and the animal is on top. Among the many utensils this is best of all. Others are of the blue colour of old *Esshū* ware, or of the new *Joshū* ware." In Volume twenty-six of the same book it is written: "The most precious utensils are those of gold, of silver, and of celadon."

The colour called in Chinese Pi-se, and in Japanese Hishoku, has two meanings in both languages. The word in Japanese stands for the stone chrysoprase and for the adjective "secret," and the colour was used in religious ceremonies only and forbidden to the common people. It appears that the form of celadon called Pi-se yao was in China used only by the court, and that the word means both "secret" and "sacred," as the word applies to the Emperor. In Japan of the Fujiwara period (794–1185) this same colour *hi* (Japanese) was greatly prized. It is mentioned in the *Genji Monogatari*, the famous historical romance written by the court lady Murasaki Shikibu about the year 1000 in Kyōto. In *Makurano Sōshi* by Seisho Nagon it is called *aoji* (blue or green porcelain).

A Chinese poem of late Sung times praises the Korean *pei-chün* (sky colour) and laments the impossibility of achieving such results in China. In a book of Sung times called by the Japanese *Shu Chu Kin*, it is written that "the most precious things under heaven are: the Imperial wine, the ink-stones of Tankei, the ink-sticks of Kishū, the flowers of Rakuyō, the tea of Kenshū, and the secret colour of Kōrai." All but the pottery are Chinese.

But all this literary evidence is worthless in identifying either Korean or Chinese wares. Most delicate pottery, from Europe or Asia, is sonant. The colours are vague and mean different things to different scholars, the descriptions "thin as ice, blue as the sky after rain" and the several other poetical phrases are repeated by every author, European or Asiatic, who mentions pottery or porcelain. They mean nothing whatever. No modern scholar has entirely convinced us that they can be used to identify Chinese wares. As Mr. Hobson points out[6] "Half of the classic Sung glazes are described as *ch'ing* or *sen-* (pale) *ch'ing*, leaving us to work out the precise shade of colour as best we can."

The only form of green Korean pottery comparable with that of China is that commonly called in Japan, *Kōrai seiji*, literally Kōrai green pottery, or Kōrai celadon. It is either undecorated, or with incised designs or patterns in low relief under the glaze.

VI. Technical Differences.

It is interesting to note a few of the technical differences between Chinese and Korean celadons.

Chinese celadon clay is brownish and fine and so ferruginous that the unglazed portions show a distinct red colour. Bushell says that Kuan, Ko, and Lung Ch'uan porcelains all had iron-coloured feet. Korean pottery clay is grey and rather coarser; a light brownish tinge sometimes shows on the unglazed foot and has been wrongly considered as a slip below the glaze. This cannot be mistaken for the well-known "iron foot" of early Chinese celadons on the one hand, or on the other hand for the slip of colour which is laid over the bare parts in more modern pieces to imitate true oxidation.

Chinese celadon generally shows the bare clay at the foot of the object. The Korean celadon foot is almost always glazed; spur-marks show inside the basal ring of the foot.

---

[6] Introduction, Volume II, George Eumorfopoulos Collection.

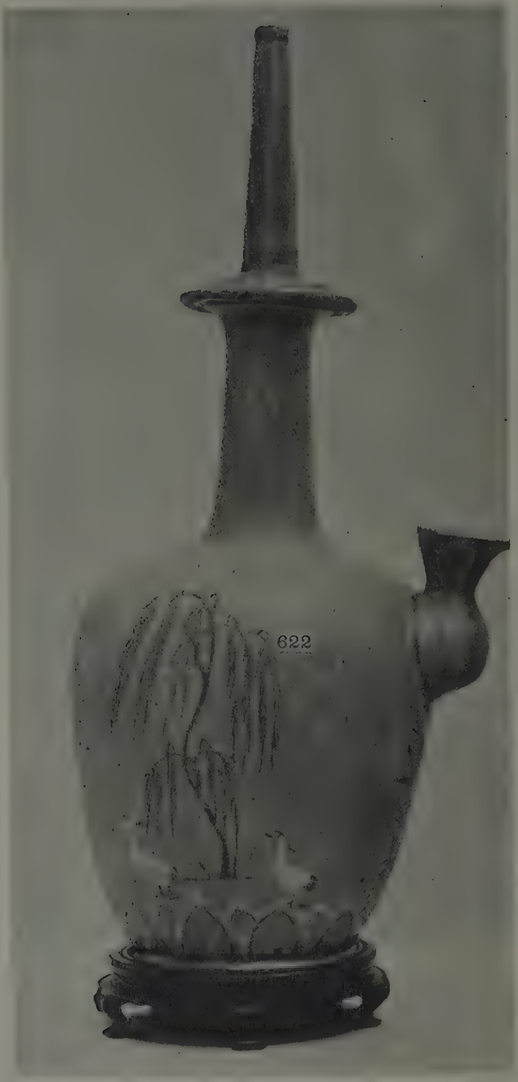


FIG. 83

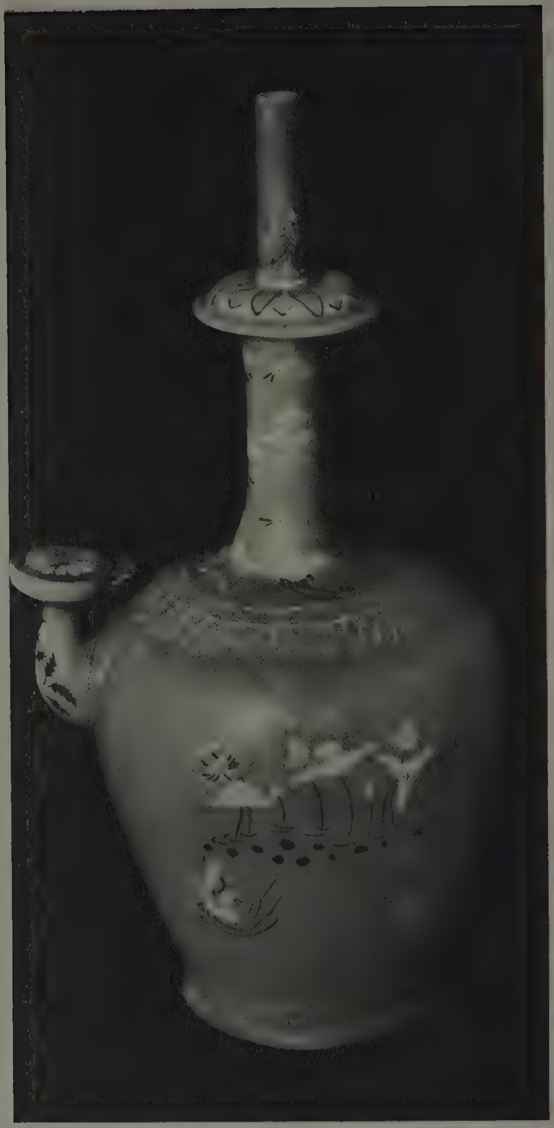


FIG. 84

PLATE XLIX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

Chinese celadon glaze is often bubbled, that is, with minute bubbles showing under the surface of the glaze, and the crackle or craze is often brown. Korean pottery glaze is always bubbled, but the craze or crackle generally shows no colour save in certain *zōgan* pieces where it follows the design and is somewhat earth-stained.

Chinese celadon glaze is thick, jade-like, of a definite colour; it is sometimes described by the Chinese as "massed lard," and its colour is likened to that of onion sprouts. Korean pottery glaze is watery, transparent, vitreous, seldom greasy, and though brilliant in colour is neither opaque nor jade-like.

Chinese celadon pieces are, as a rule, on a large scale, thick, often sonant in spite of their heaviness, with or without designs incised or stamped under the glaze. Korean pottery pieces are, as a rule, on a small scale, thin at the edges even when thick at the bottom, with or without incised or stamped designs under the glaze.

The kinship between the Chinese and Korean pieces is evident, but the differences are more definite than the superficial resemblance.

Japanese *Mishima* need not be discussed here as it is the offshoot of the Korean wares of the succeeding period of Ri. The book by Messrs. Asakawa and Yanagi has finally and authoritatively dealt with this subject.

VII. Characteristics of Kōrai Celadons.

We have seen that Korean pottery has been well-known in Japan since the sixteenth century when the great Taikō brought potters and even pots to Japan, and the fame of these methods and these vessels stimulated the opening of many kilns on the islands. Among those that became justly famous were the kilns at Hagi, Satsuma, Yatsushiro, Karatsu, and Agano.

The pottery admired and copied by Japanese tea-masters was not that of the Kōrai dynasty, but was made in the Ri period in southern Korea, and one of the types has become known as *mishima*. The potting was coarse and uneven, the clay burns red in the coarse pieces and grey in the finer ones, and the glaze varies from aquamarine. Save for the poor potting it has many traits reminiscent of Kōrai work. One of the predominating patterns was made of bands of stemless chrysanthemums, and these concentric rows have been thought in Japan to suggest the columns of characters in the almanacs compiled at Mishima in Japan; this derivation of the term has long been accepted, and has not only been applied to *Ri cho mishima*, but also quite erroneously to all the inlaid pottery of Kōrai. We have, today, a new and undoubtedly correct explanation of the term. Mr. Asakawa Hakukyō, who has devoted a lifetime to the various pottery of Korea, is now convinced that the name comes from the small islands, Mi shima, literally Three Islands, now called Kyobunto, which formed a safe anchorage for boats bringing cargo from Korea to Japan. A parallel case of nomenclature is that of the Chinese porcelain commonly called Lowestoft by us; made in China, it took its name from the English port of entry. The three islands, Mi shima, were the last port of call toward Japan and the name of the pottery coming by that route was applied to the Japanese derivative wares. The term should really be confined, not to a ware, nor to the technique of inlay, but to the pattern of headless chrysanthemums.

Although the Japanese kilns started in the Ri period, Japanese *mishima* did not reach Europe until the middle of the nineteenth century, and then only in small quantities. However, the Japanese had, by that time, begun to recognize and value the inlaid wares of the Kōrai dynasty to which they applied wrongly the name *mishima* in turn. After the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910, the Rioke Museum was started; fortunately for Korea the Vice-Minister of Prince Ri's household was Mr. M. Komiya, and it is due to his taste and discernment that the superb collection in that museum was formed. Later the Museum of the Government General was

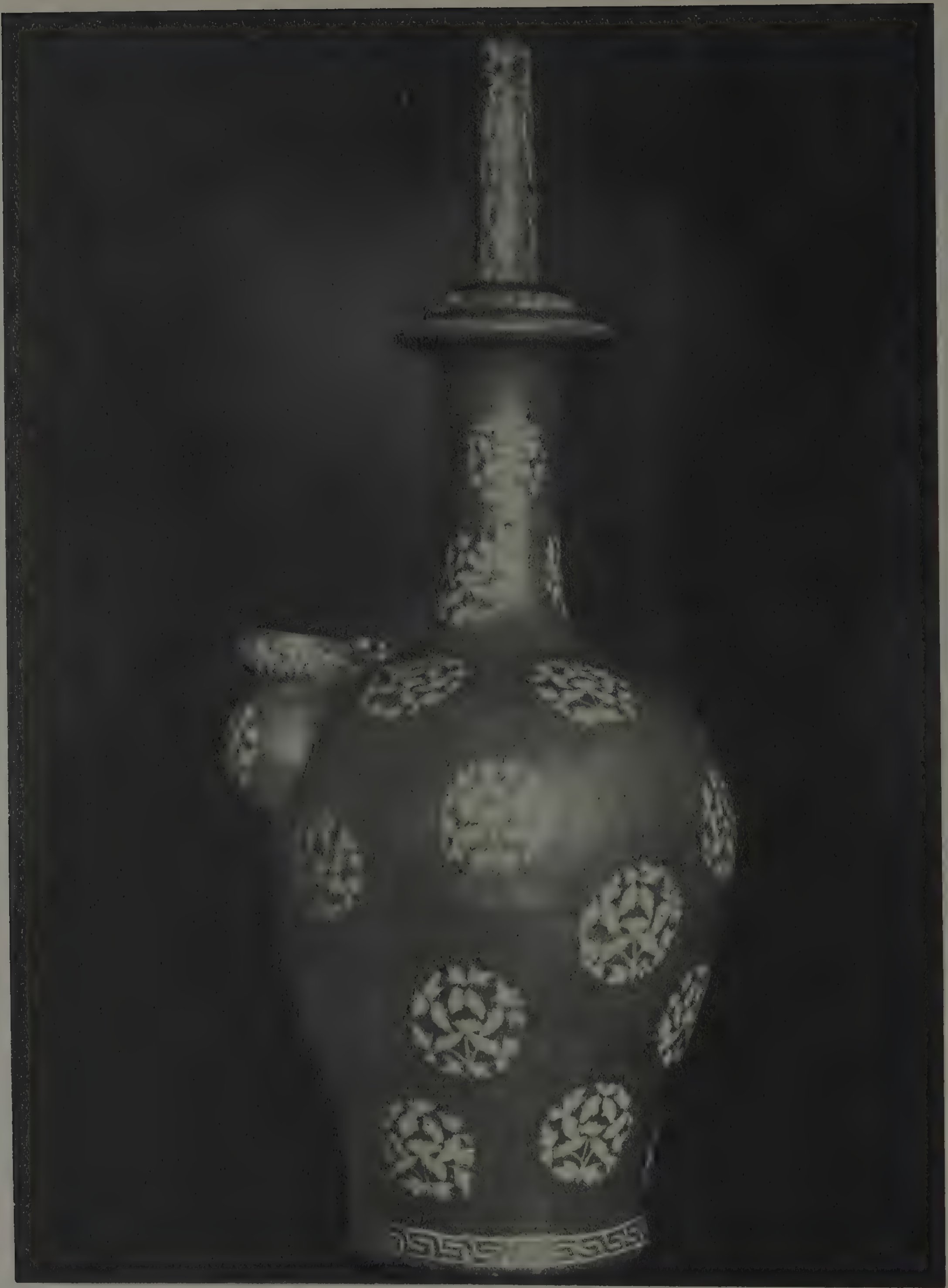


FIG. 85

Plate L. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* opened; it, too, has many fine examples. No European or American collector can ever hope to form such collections as these two. Japanese collectors and a few foreigners bought eagerly from 1910 on, but it seems that the supply of fine examples is now exhausted and the collector who enters the field today must content himself with mediocre examples or else pay exorbitantly for the occasional good piece that is offered for sale.

While the Japanese have shown their usual taste and discrimination in describing and naming the types of pottery of the Kōrai, their knowledge has for the most part not been available to the public in the West. Within a year or so the errors will be corrected and doubts cleared by the publication of the exhaustive volume which we have already had occasion to mention by Mr. M. Yanagi and the brothers Asakawa. They have at their command not only authentic information concerning kiln sites, but the datable material (still all too slender) and the methods used in potting and glazing and firing. It is to these three gentlemen that I owe all that is of value in this paper.

After consultation with them, as I have said earlier, it was decided that the present article had best be illustrated from American collections only; we have in the United States perhaps finer Kōrai Yaki than can be seen in Europe, and the collections in Korea can be published only by those Japanese scholars who have known them for years. Until their book appears with its map of kiln-sites and its scientific treatment of the entire subject, we can make only such catalogues as the present.

The names adopted by Japanese connoisseurs will be used to describe the wares. I shall use the term pottery as meaning things made by a potter, but much of the material is stoneware approaching porcelain in vitrification and some of it may be actual porcelain according to the chemist's definition of that word.

The most important wares are called by the Japanese *Seiji* and *Zōgan*: celadon and inlay. The word *seiji* is used, with a host of qualifiers, to describe all the types of Chinese Lung Ch'uan and similar wares, and is a vague colour-word meaning greenish blue. Kōrai *Seiji* has a celadon-like glaze, a grey clay, spur marks on the base of the object or inside it, and is glazed within and without.

VIII. Types of Kōrai *Seiji*.

Seiji may be subdivided into the following types:

a. Undecorated.
b. Incised, free-hand, or with comb-lines.
c. Moulded.
d. Impressed, with comb-dots, or free-hand birds, flowers, clouds, etc.
e. Inlaid, with white designs, or white touched up with black; stamped, or free-hand.
f. Painted in iron-black, copper-red or with a white slip.
g. Sculptured, free-hand or moulded.
h. Marbled, in the clay or the glaze or as a painted slip.
   This type is of doubtful Korean provenance and is more likely to be from China even when found or bought in Korea. Some pieces have, however, a glaze that strongly resembles Kōrai *seiji* glaze.

In examples of the undecorated type the glaze is thick and vitreous, the shapes are simple and often heavy.

In examples of the incised, the body of the piece is decorated with incised lines into which the glaze flows, deepening in colour so that the design shows darker than the rest of the surface.

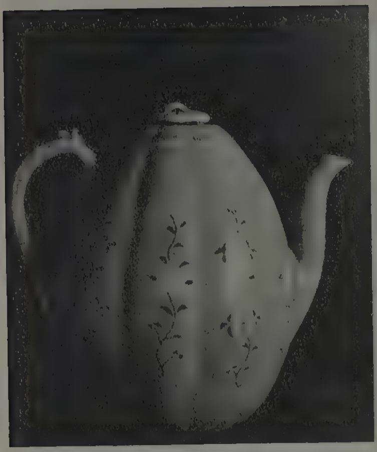


FIG. 86

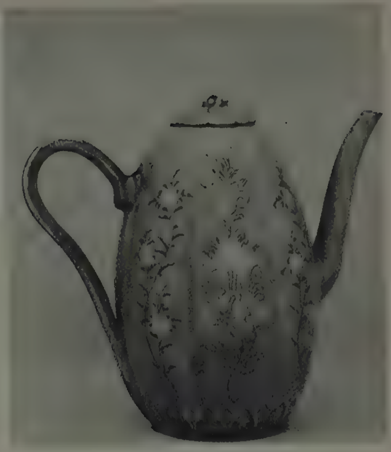


FIG. 87

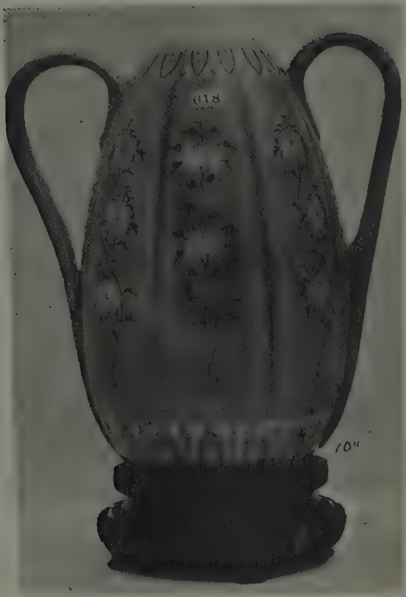


FIG. 88

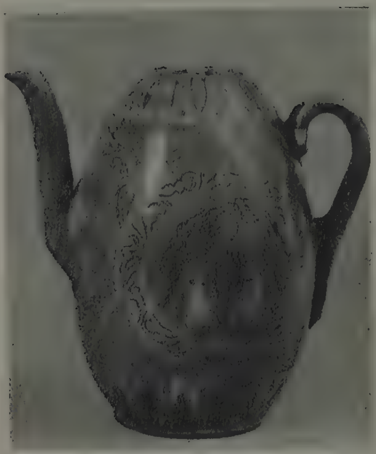


FIG. 89

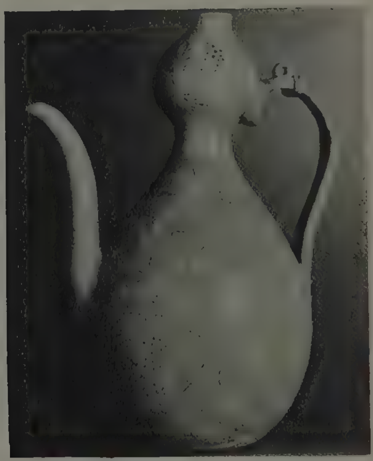


FIG. 90

PLATE LI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

In moulded examples the design, usually a floral one, has obviously been moulded much as were similar Honan celadons; the relief is low, and the flowing of the glaze is so even that the surface is almost smooth. A few pieces of this type show evidence of both moulded and incised technique.

In specimens of the impressed type the result is much like incision, but the design on close inspection proves to be exactly repeated.

In those of the inlaid type, when the object had reached the stage known to modern potters as "leather hard," the incised design was filled with fine, white clay, flush with the surface, a form of decoration apparently original to Korea. No early Chinese ware shows inlaid design. It has been commonly reported that the white inlay was pulverized jade, but chemical experiment shows that, in the cases examined, it was merely white kaolinic clay, in which Korea abounds; in fact it seems precisely that of hundreds of white pieces of pottery that have come from Korea. The details of these white inlaid designs were often accentuated or completed by the inlay of a black pigment composed of ferruginous clay, or by the application of black pigment under the glaze. Occasionally part of the design is painted red, an extremely rare variant in Kōrai times. This was probably made of copper, which is difficult to handle in pottery, and in these red designs it appears accidental, the glaze above it being marred and often even stemmed in its flow. The black designs in *zōgan* are commonly made of iron, which under various kiln conditions produces either black or brown.

In the painted type, called by the Japanese *egōrai* (literally painted Kōrai) the colour of clay and glaze is that of all Kōrai *seiji*, but most egōrai pieces are not of first-rate workmanship, and in this, as in their naturalistic designs, they suggest Ri pottery. The design is commonly painted in iron black, rarely in white slip.

In the sculptured type is included chiefly incense burners, and I have never seen a good one outside of Korea. Figures of ducks, lions, turtles, are done in the round, showing great technical skill in potting. These are influenced by Chinese work.

The marbled type, called by the Japanese *neriage* (literally kneaded), will not be discussed because the great Kyōto potter, Mr. Kawai, is of the opinion that it is Chinese and not Korean.

The present article will take up only the several forms of *seiji* and the inlaid wares; we shall omit not only *egōrai*, but also *neriage*, and the several white types brought to light in Korea in such quantities, but of which no kiln-site has as yet been found. We shall also omit such wares as *kochi*, *temmoku*, and *kaki gusuri* as being almost surely non-Korean; and true *mishima*, *hori mishima*, and *hake mishima* as being almost surely of the Ri period.[7]

The clay of Kōrai *seiji* and Kōrai *zōgan* is grey, hard, and heavy. The pots were all wheel-thrown, and it is not possible to find out how they were cut from the matrix clay because the bases are glazed over, showing only spur marks. In the rare cases where the base is bare, there are traces of lightish brown colour on the unglazed parts. This is not a slip, but is the effect of firing on the bare clay.

The spur marks are visible on the glazed bases; they vary in number, being three, four, five, six and seven; in carefully made pieces as many as twelve are found. The spurs were small stilts of common clay, or nearly pure kaolin, or piles of sand, or single shells or white stones, while some of the rougher late examples evidently rested on flat piles of mud and straw. Where a sand spur was used, the whole foot of the object, or the base inside the foot-rim, rested fairly on the sand pile. (Figures 147, 148, 149.) The spur marks are almost invariably seen within the rim of the base, only on carelessly made pieces is the glaze on the body of the object marred by their appearance outside this limit. Coarse pieces were fired only once; delicate pieces were

---

[7] Of great value to the student of Chinese and Korean glazes is Mr. R. L. Hobson's introduction to Volume II of the Eumorfopoulos Catalogue.

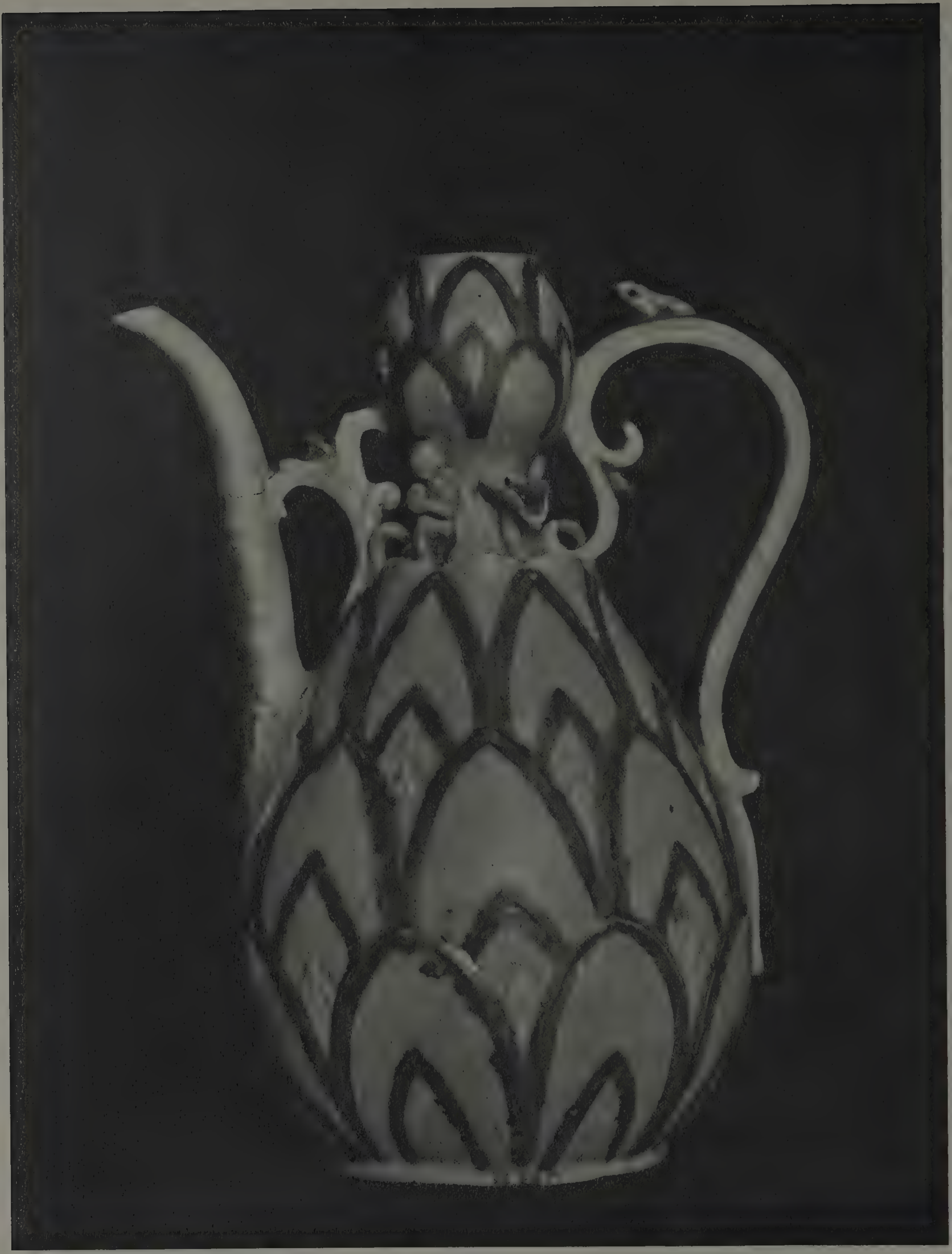


FIG. 91

PLATE LII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

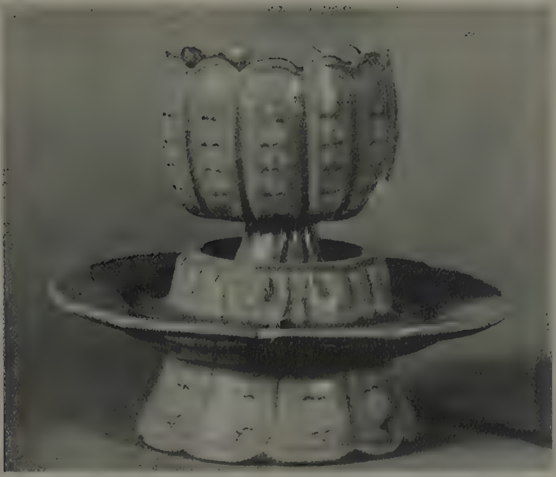


FIG. 92

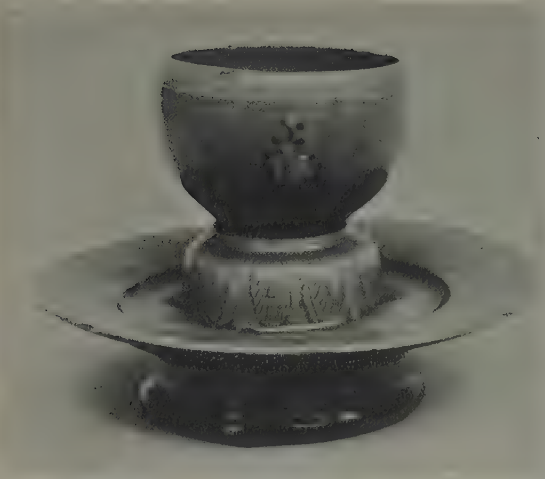


FIG. 93

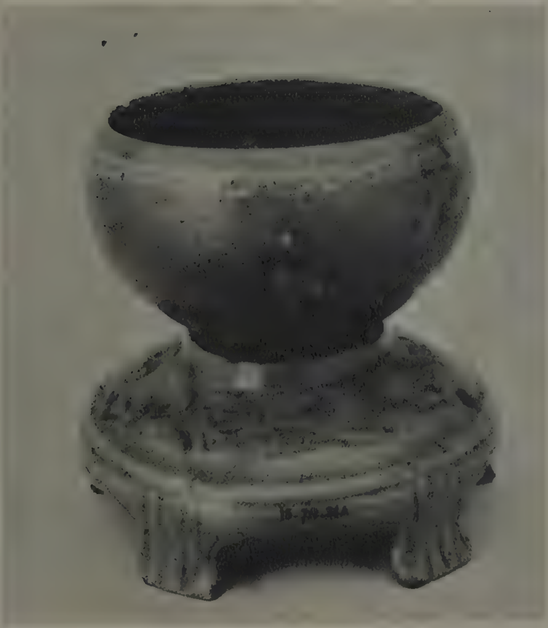


FIG. 94

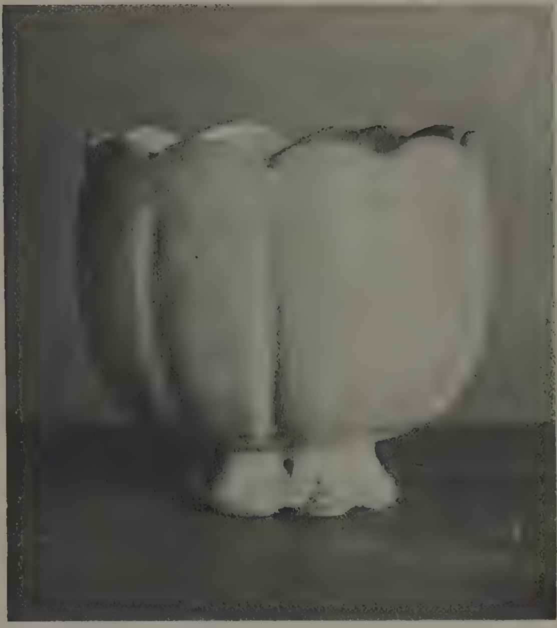


FIG. 95

PLATE LIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

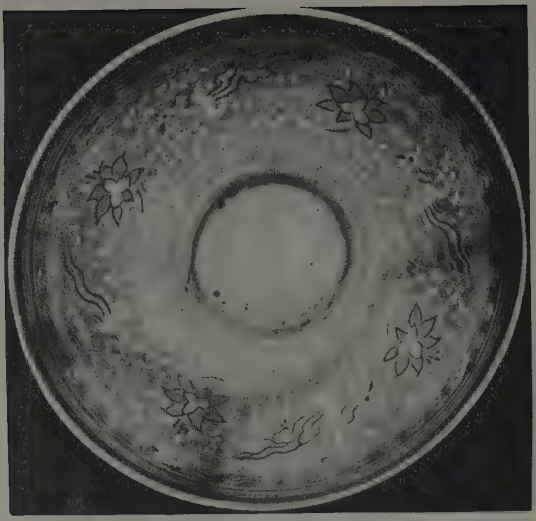


FIG. 96

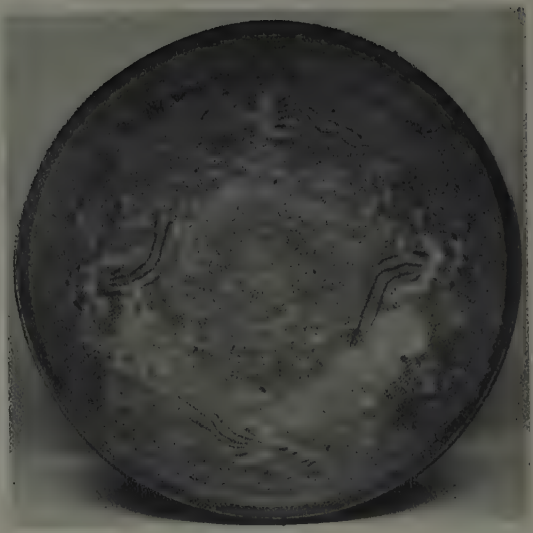


FIG. 97

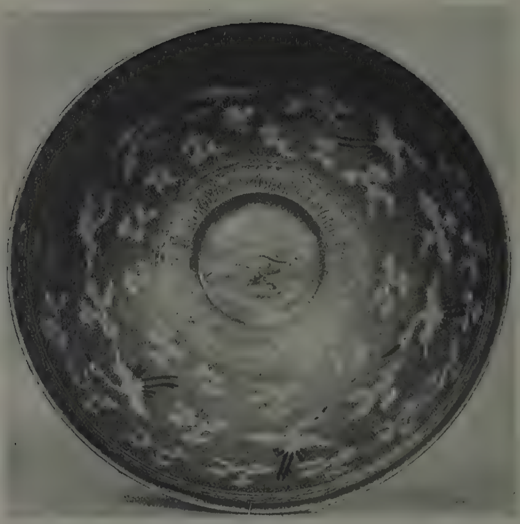


FIG. 98

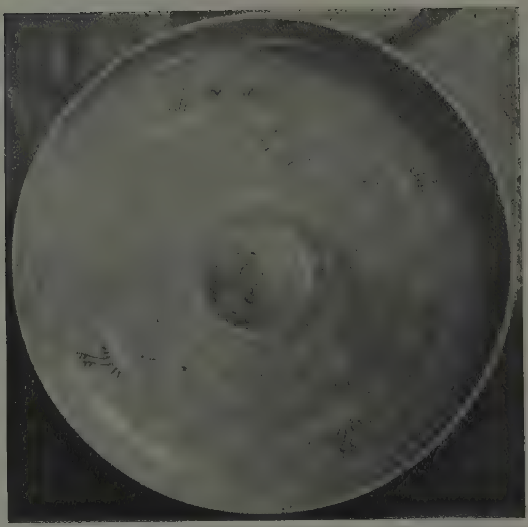


FIG. 99

PLATE LIV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* probably baked twice, first after the design had been inlaid or incised and again after the glaze had been applied.[8] An interesting feature of the firing is shown in the boxes and their covers, which seem to have been fired together separated by spurs.

IX. Glaze.

The glaze on *seiji* and *zōgan* pieces is the same, varying of course with the quality of the pottery. It is heavy and vitreous and is found in many shades of greenish-blue, greenish-grey, grey-blue, or, less often, with strong olive tones. It is full of bubbles. It is sometimes crackled, and nearly always crazed. It is difficult to say whether this unintentional crackle is merely a series of time cracks, or whether it appeared while the object was being baked; but it seems probable that it occurred to a certain extent in the baking and has increased with age.

The glaze of Kōrai celadon is perhaps best illustrated by comparing it with sea water. It is never opaque, or of a definite colour; it is vitreous, and seems, like the tropic waters, to have transparent colour. In the finest pieces which have been found in Korea, this brilliance and transparency appear even where the glaze runs thick. Occasionally the glaze on both white and green wares runs in such a way as to form the "tear-drops" which are often thought to be proof of Chinese origin, but which of course appear on modern works of Europe and America as well as on wares of the Orient.

Burial does not often dull the glaze except where it is faulty from the kiln. In its watery look it differs, as we have seen, from Chinese celadon, of which the glaze seems more opaque and of a more definite colour. Many pieces of undoubted Kōrai *seiji* are olive drab in colour, and as this curious shade appears often in bowls that resemble Honan celadon in their floral design, some doubt has been cast on all olive drab pieces. It is, however, often found on portions of pots that are otherwise of the finest Kōrai green and is, therefore, a misfire.

X. Shapes in Kōrai Celadon.

There is considerable variety in the shapes of Kōrai pottery, and many of these are derived from early bronze or silver or stone designs. Bowls are found in great quantity, the outlines varying from what we should call saucers through forms that could be described as rice bowls (small base, diameter at lip six to ten inches), tea bowls (smaller than rice bowls), and begging bowls (the lip curving inward). (Figures 29-53.) Some saucers and bowls are indented at the edge to suggest petals. Plain cups and fluted cups had stands to match (Figures 20, 21); the sets now in various collections are probably not originally matched, but in some cases cup and stand have escaped destruction together. A fluted cup and stand in the Seoul Museum is of silver. The stands sometimes have flat tops on which the cup or bowl is set, and sometimes they have instead a bottomless bowl as a cup-rest,—a shape also found in stone dating from an earlier period. (Figures 22-26.) An occasional cup is almost egg-shaped, and has no foot; perhaps the Korean and Japanese tradition is right in asserting that it was originally inverted over the mouth of a high jar, and was meant for a drinking-cup, or for a "stirrup-cup" taken off at a single draught by horsemen before battle or a journey.

Tazza-cups are rare, but have been found in *seiji*, *zōgan*, metal, and white pottery.

With the rather heavy and coarse clay used by the Korean potters an effort of delicacy was produced in many cases by allowing considerable thickness at the foot of the bowl and drawing the sides up to a thin edge. This is done also in Korean *temmoku* and *kaki gusuri* bowls.

---

[8] This opinion is given by Mr. Kawai of Kyōto.

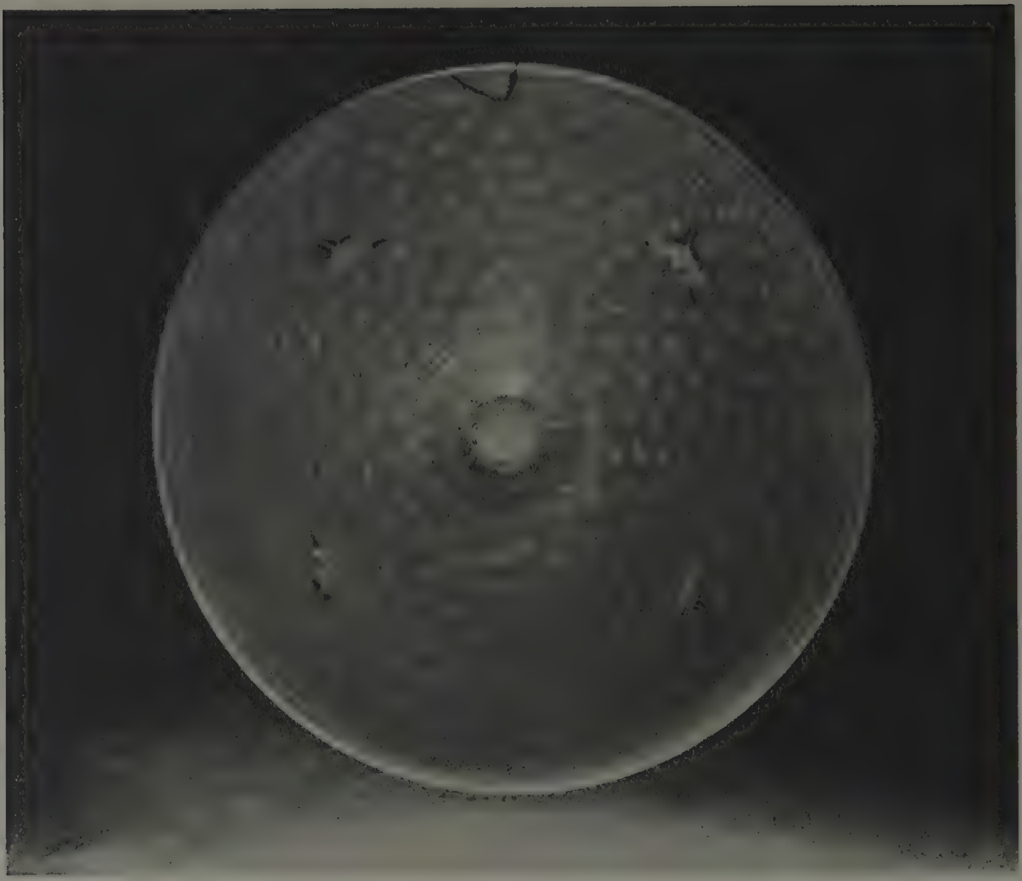


FIG. 100

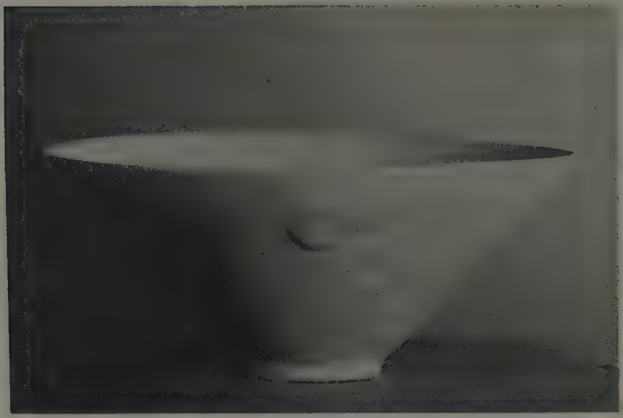


FIG. 101

Plate LV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

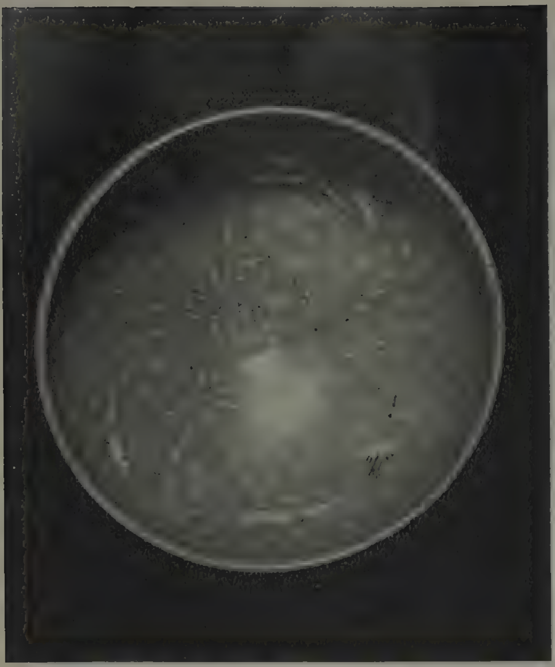


FIG. 102

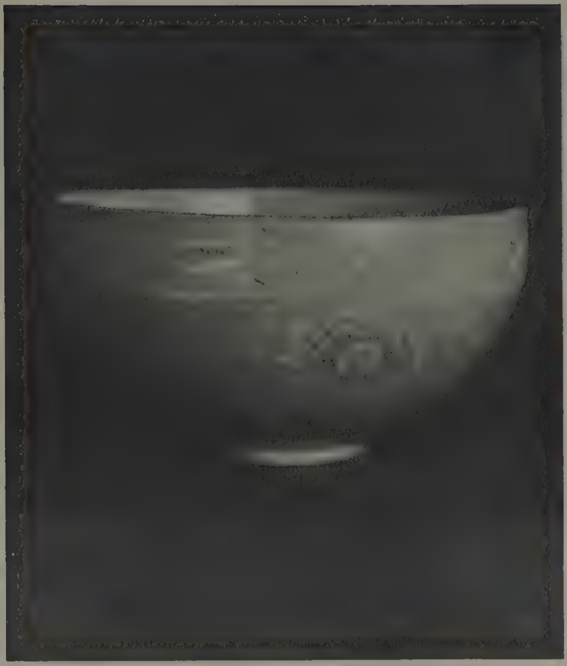


FIG. 103

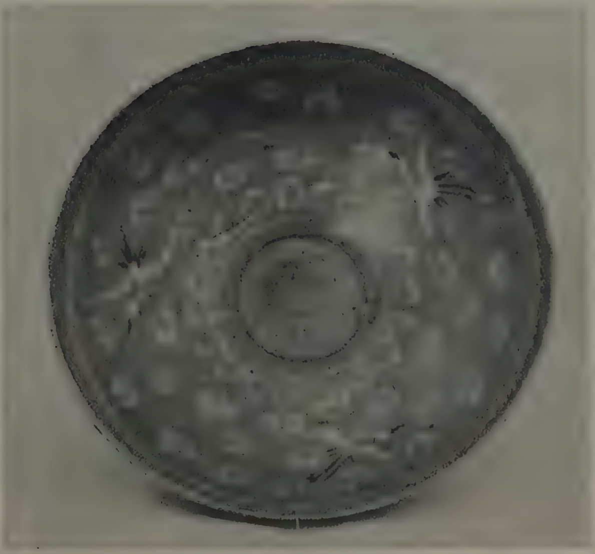


FIG. 104

Plate LVI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

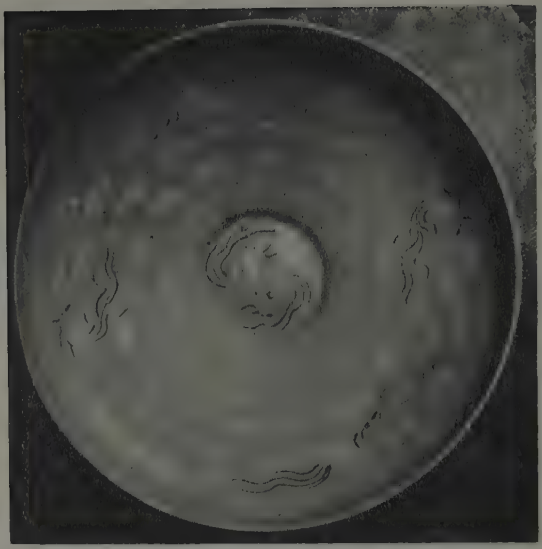


FIG. 105

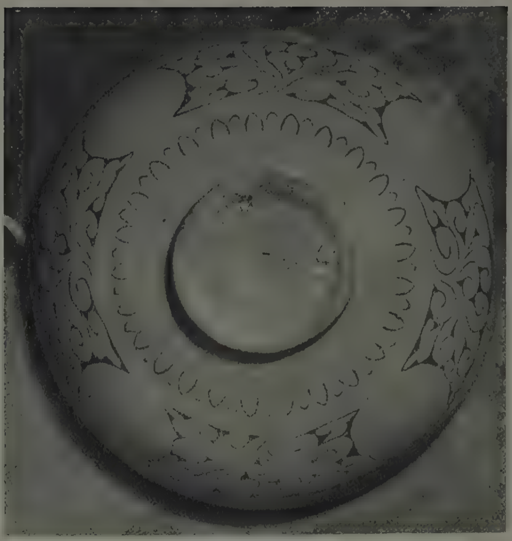


FIG. 106

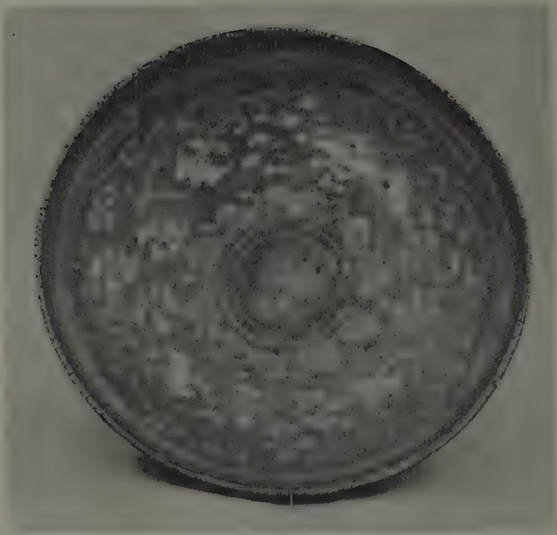


FIG. 107

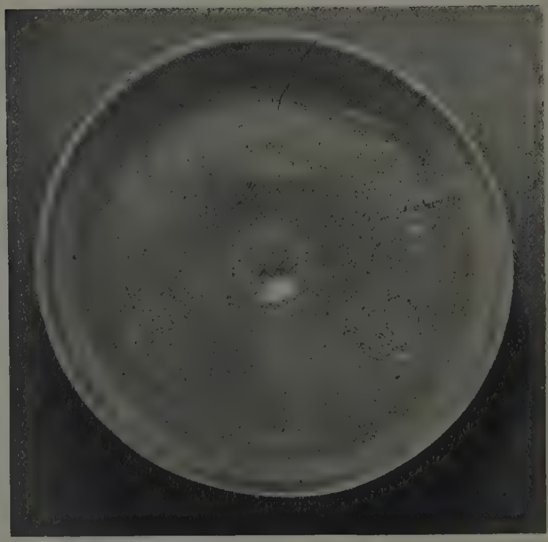


FIG. 108

PLATE LVII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

Powder boxes are called *kōgō* (incense holders) by the Japanese, who have used them for that purpose in their tea ceremonies, but originally they were meant to hold cosmetics, as is proved by a few in which powder or rouge still remained when they were unearthed from ladies' tombs. These are sometimes flat, round boxes, with flat or curved covers (Figures 54, 55); sometimes fluted to suggest an inverted chrysanthemum. In the latter case there is often a stem-shaped handle in the center of the cover. An interesting and rare form has a growing lotus moulded in relief inside the box, the leaves of which seem meant to hold powder. A fine example of this shape in Kōrai *zōgan* is in the Museum at Seoul.

It is interesting to note that in the boxes of Kōrai *seiji* which show spur marks proving a single baking for box and cover the glaze often shows the results of different temperature on the two parts. These box shapes have their direct prototypes in bronze in the period preceding the making of Kōrai *seiji* and *zōgan*.

The very small, round boxes with flat covers are often found in groups of five and six inside a larger box of the same shape (compare Eckardt, Numbers 378, 379). Certain toilet sets consist of five pieces; a box some four inches in diameter surrounded by four crescent or leaf-shaped boxes within the larger one.

No special use has been discovered for those boxes which are columnar in shape with covers and the Japanese call them merely "*futamono*," meaning "covered thing."

As to the use of the many pitchers with spouts, handles, and covers (Figures 13-19), there is still some discussion. China is said to have given up in Sung times the practice of tea as it is known today in Japan. But the Koreans of the Kōrai period are known to have been great tea-drinkers, and it is safe to assume that many of these are teapots. Bronze and stone teapots of the same period have been found. Among the shapes there is considerable variety; pomegranate, gourd, egg-plant, melon, and bamboo-sprout are reproduced. Occasionally the pot has an elaborately carved animal on the lid. Some of the finest examples of potting are among these shapes. In most of these, a loop is contrived on the lip, often ingeniously worked into the design, and always corresponding to one on the cover; the two loops were connected with a cord.

Occasionally a pitcher is so small that it seems rather of a size to be used as a water holder (*midzu ire*) for the ink stone than as a teapot.

Oil jars are about three inches high; they are small-necked and large-bellied, and occasionally have stoppers. (Figure 11.)

Wine jars are about twelve to eighteen inches high (Figures 3-8); high-shouldered, sometimes with cup-like cover, or cover topped with a knob; or high-shouldered small-necked, with two sides flattened; or with four small handles like loops. (Figures 1, 2.)

Other shapes are as follows:

Tall wine-bottles, shape possibly derived from a bamboo stuck in a round gourd. (Figures 58, 59.)

Tall wine-bottles, flaring-lipped, small-necked and large-bellied (Figures 9, 10); occasionally with cover.

Long-necked ewers with short, lidded spouts. This interesting form is familiar in China, both in bronze and painted representations which seem to be of pottery. It is a common accompaniment of the holy Lohan in paintings at least as early as the Sung dynasty, and occurs on Buddhist stone carvings of the same period. A form not unlike it has been found in European classical lands, and from these the ewer used for holy water in the modern Greek church is said to have been derived. The shape in Korean pottery is unique in having a true hinge of two loops on the spouten gaging with one on the lid, in place of the pair of loops connected by a thong as in the other covered shapes. In the Seoul Museum, this form is labelled "water bottle used in

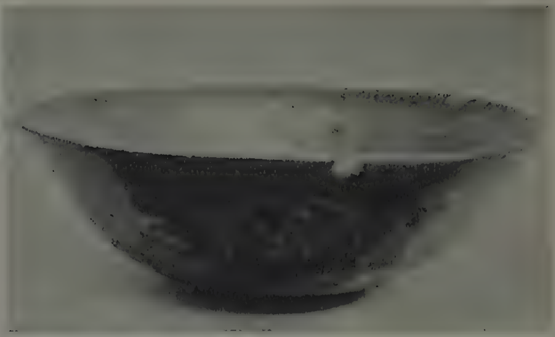


FIG. 109

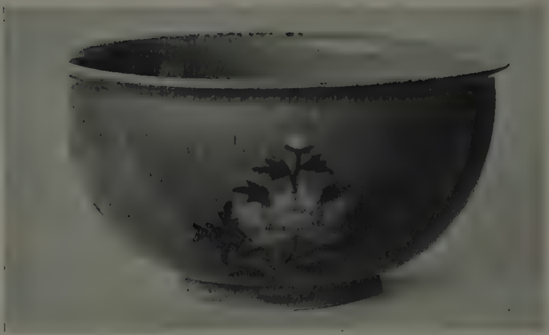


FIG. 110

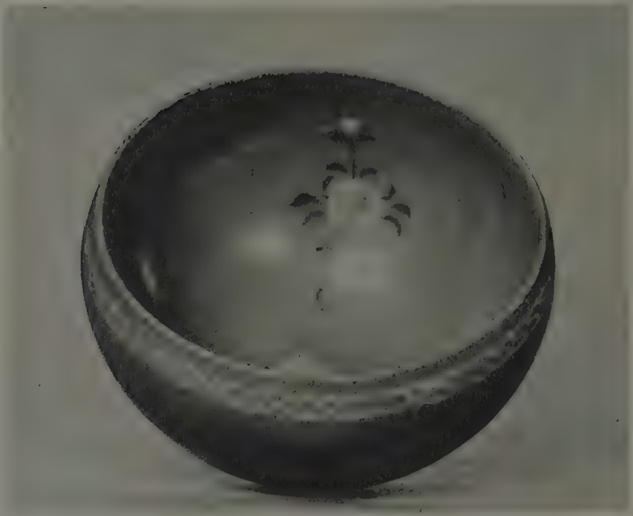


FIG. 111

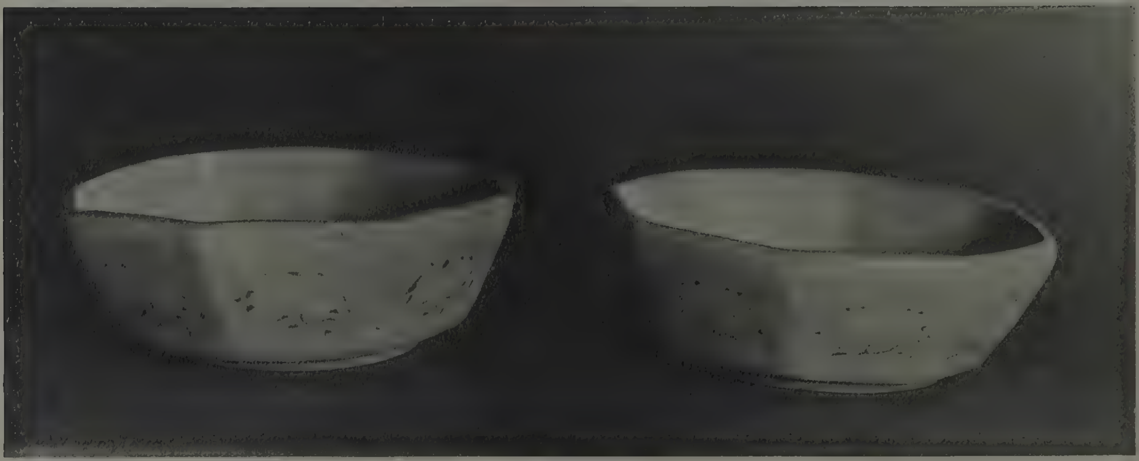


FIG. 112

Plate LVIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

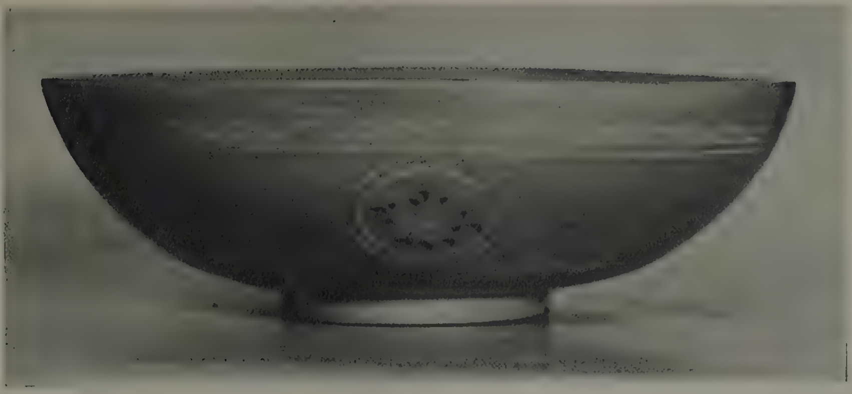


FIG. 113

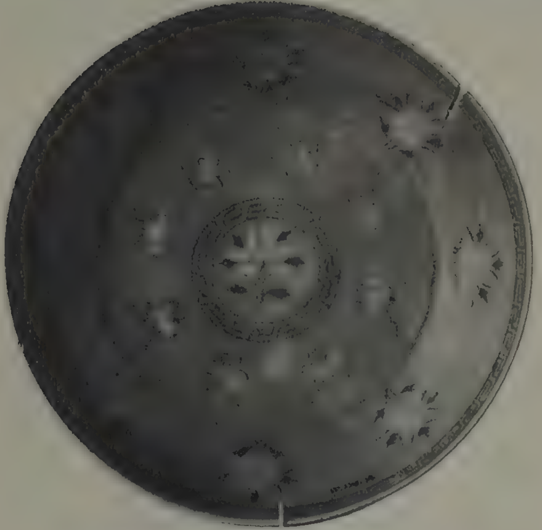


FIG. 115

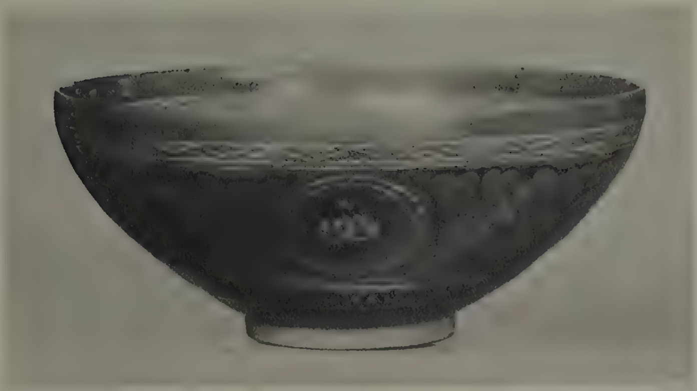


FIG. 114

Plate LIX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

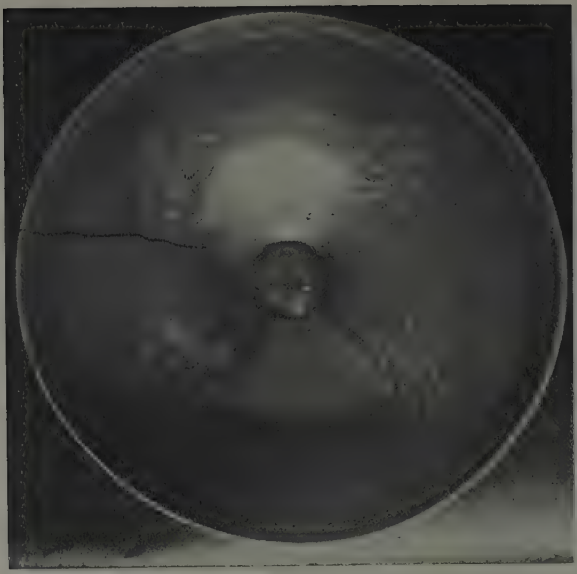


FIG. 116

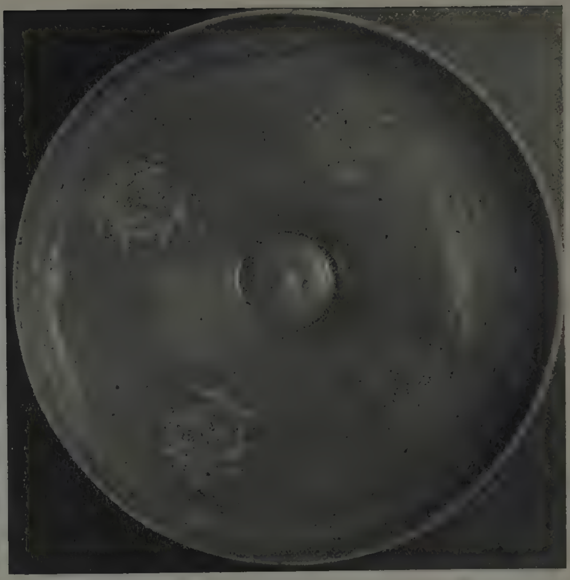


FIG. 117

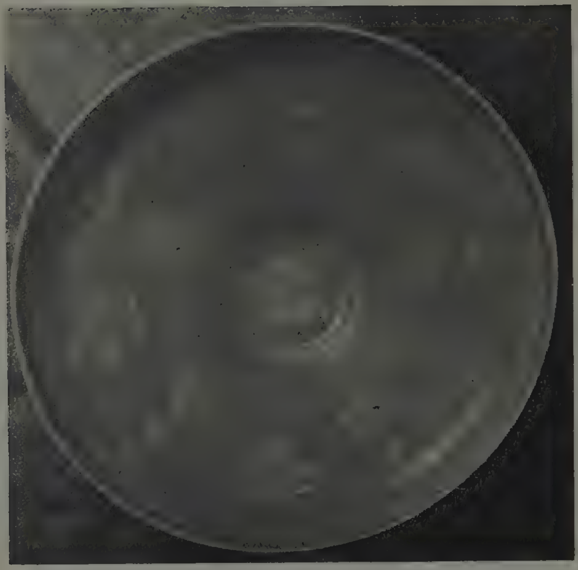


FIG. 118

PLATE LX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

Buddhist rites." The shape occurs in Korean bronze both plain and inlaid with silver, as well as in pottery. (For *zōgan* examples, see Figures 83-85.)

Bottles and jars, some for wine, some for water, and others supposed to have held oil. (Figures 9-12)

Pillows supported by sculptured animal forms.

Hollow quadrangular pillows, a Chinese form. (Figures 136, 137.) Some of these were made to contain hot or cold water, according to the season.

Seals, rare, often topped with animal forms.

Brush-handles for writing brushes, recorded in literature, but not found earlier than the Ri period.

Plaques, glazed on one side; used according to one authority as writing boards, the thin paper being wrapped about them and kept taut; according to another authority used by writers as a rest for the right elbow. (For *zōgan* examples, see Figures 138, 139.)

Pots, shaped like a boat or a Korean shoe; generally about two feet long and six inches deep.

Ladles or spoons, rare, fashioned like the bronze shape common before and during the period.

Large basins, rare; with rudimentary handles generally in the form of animal heads, suggesting those on the bronzes.

Flat dishes with covers, lips, and long handles, shaped like cooking dishes, rare. (Figure 57.)

Jars with covers, melon shaped jars, animals in relief holding jars, and jars in animal or bird shapes.

Small human figures, ill-done. Heads of human figures, invariably bad. (Figures 155, 156.)

Incense-burners with reticulated covers, generally late examples.

Elaborate tripods, suggesting bronze shapes; often with animal on cover. (Figures 28.)

XI. TYPES OF DECORATION.

The decoration of Kōrai pieces shows a wide variety of treatment. A single line near a bowl rim or a meander like a Greek key appears at one end of the decorative scale, and at the other is found such a design as that on Figure 16, where ducks and plants are treated in a naturalistic manner. It is impossible to list all the patterns, but some of those characteristic of Kōrai *seiji* are described below.

The meander used as sole decoration, or as part of a more intricate design. (Figures 8, 26, etc.)

The foliage design called by the Japanese *karakusa* (Chinese grass or tendril), sometimes considered to be of Chinese origin and to represent a dragon. (Figures 23, etc.)

Lotus petals in high relief or conventionalized into rigidity, sometimes so treated that they suggest the Greek egg-and-dart. (Figures 30 and 32.)

A whorl of leaves spreading from the bottom of a bowl almost to the rim; possibly a chrysanthemum form. (Figure 43.)

Playing boys, a design called by the Japanese *Karako*, literally Chinese children. (Mr. S. Okuda calls this pattern *Unchūdōji*, literally child in a cloud.) The little figures are highly conventionalized and appear surrounded by flowers or by clouds or among grape-vines. Sometimes the *karako* appear to be nude, sometimes to be dressed in loose coats and flowing trousers. (Figures 45, 46, 47, 48, 49 and 150.) In one form that is common in white Kōrai, the children appear to have wings, but we are

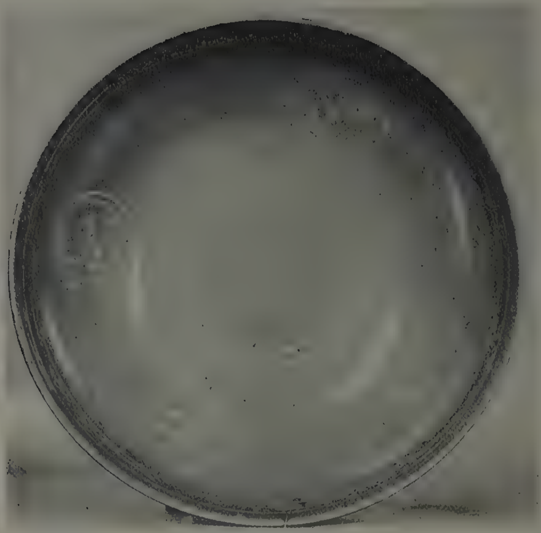


FIG. 119

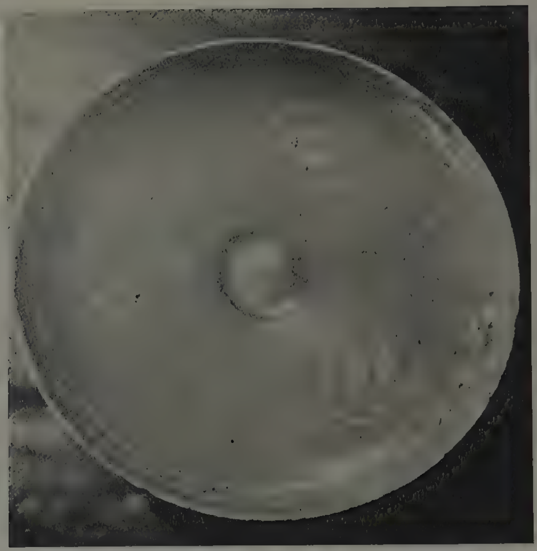


FIG. 120

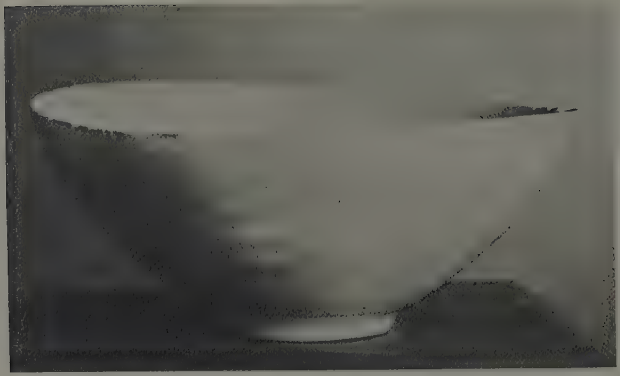


FIG. 121

PLATE LXI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

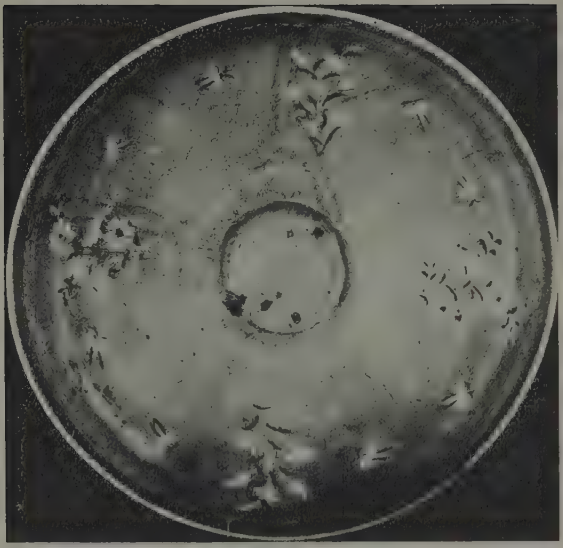


FIG. 123

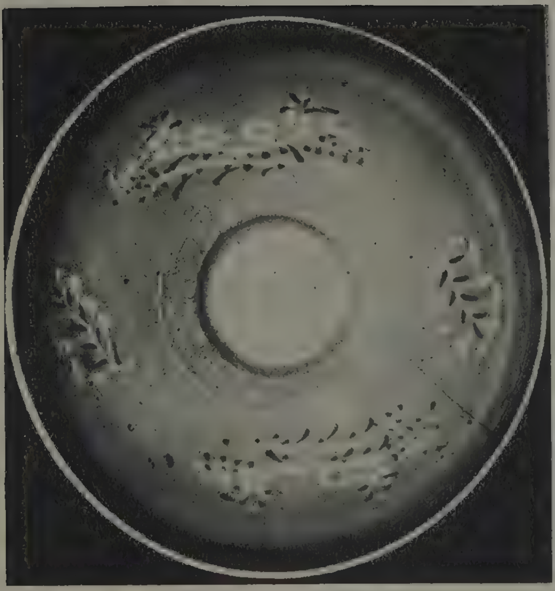


FIG. 122

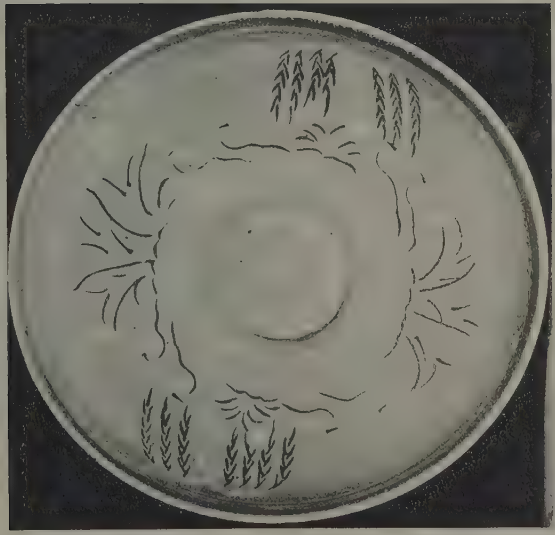


FIG. 124

Plate LXII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

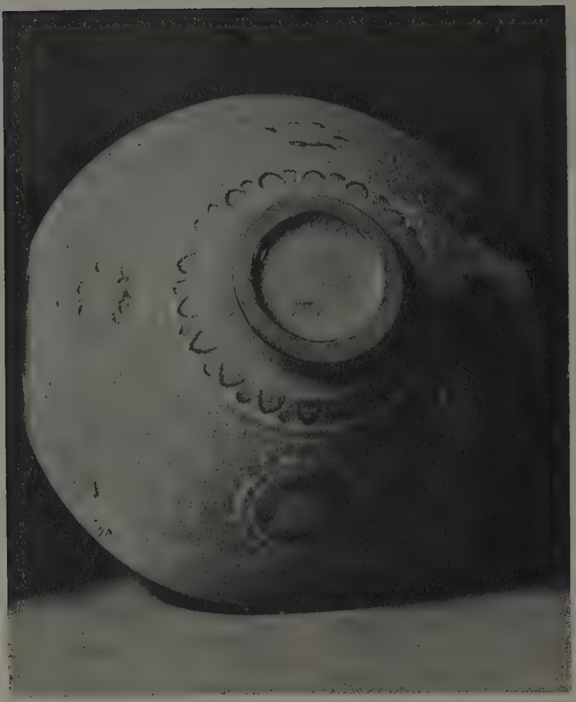


FIG. 125

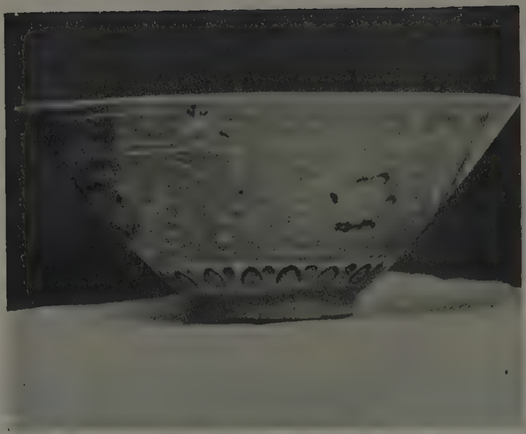


FIG. 126

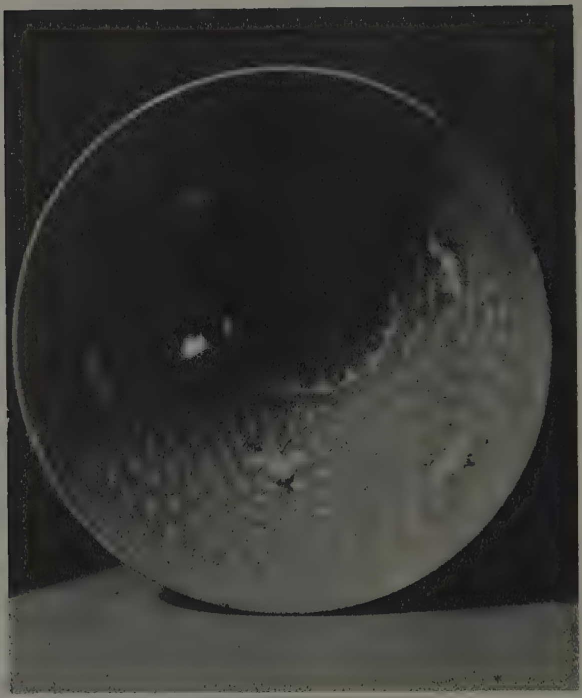


FIG. 127

PLATE LXIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* inclined to think that these are in reality the wings of *hōwō* birds, the bodies of which are now lost in the convention.

Bamboo joints. These occur on handles and snouts, and are the notable features of the fine bottle in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, where the entire shape suggests a cluster of bamboo sticks, with notches incised. (Figure 9.)

Fish among waves. Sometimes incised, sometimes in relief under the glaze. (Figures 33, 34, 36.)

Fish in pairs. Rare in *seiji*, more common in *zōgan*. (Figure 36.)

Conventionalized waves, generally as a background to fish or dragons.

Dragon (Figures 3, 37, 38, 39 and 151). This design is illustrated in bowls and on cup-stands as well as on a high-shouldered jar from the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. This last is as fine a dragon design as I have ever seen. (Figure 3.) It is one of the only two examples from foreign collections illustrated in *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*.[9]

The hōwō bird, a mythical creature not unlike the phœnix. It generally has a turtle-like head, and is drawn with great boldness. All the bowls I have seen with this design show the finest quality of drawing and glaze (Figure 33). For the free treatment see Figure 4.

Flower designs difficult of identification, often suggesting those in Honan celadon. (Figures 50, 51, 52 and 53.) A Chinese mould in the Metropolitan Museum shows this design. This is the pattern to which I have already referred as occurring so frequently in bowls with a brownish olive glaze so evenly distributed as to lead one to wonder if some particular kiln specialized in this pattern and was habitually unable to produce a good Kōrai celadon glaze. The same type of design appears on a ewer and basin,[10] a large jar[11] and a teapot[12] in the Korean collections, but as I do not remember seeing these pieces I do not know the colour of the glaze.

Many other floral designs, some obviously chrysanthemum, others difficult of identification. Perhaps the most interesting of these is a fine bowl in Prince Ri's Household Museum in which the drawing of a peony-like flower is much like that on several *hakugōrai* bowls and saucers.

Occasionally inscriptions or poems are used for decoration.[13]

Occasionally[14] animals and flowers are drawn in a naturalistic manner.

The most striking pieces of Kōrai *seiji*, though by no means the most beautiful, are undoubtedly those illustrated in *Chōsen Koseki Zufu* from Number 3458 through Number 3474, and in *Prince Ri's Catalogue* from Number 431 through Number 437; these are elaborate pieces of animal modelling, so ornate as to suggest Chinese jades of the seventeenth century and the skilful and unlovely white porcelains of that country. The Kōrai beasts are splendidly executed. The nearest approach to this group that I know in the United States is the cover to a pitcher in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 28), and a fragment owned by Mr. H. D. Walker of Minneapolis. Both of these are very interesting because they illustrate just such a "duck lying on lotus petals" as is described by the Sung ambassador in 1123.

Kōrai *zōgan* is a technique apparently peculiar to Korea. We have followed Japanese authorities in discarding the name *unkaku* which was used to describe all inlay when we first were studying Kōrai pottery, and have taken at their suggestion the word *zōgan* instead; *unkaku* is properly a pattern, and one very commonly used in Korea—storks and clouds; whereas *zōgan* is the proper Japanese term for inlay.

According to one of the Chinese authorities quoted above[15] the Koreans did not consider the pieces with white inlay to be as valuable as the undecorated *seiji*.

---

[9] Volume VIII, Number 3434, page 993.

[10] *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, Number 3450.

[11] *Prince Ri Catalogue*, Number 429.

[12] *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, Number 3443.

[13] *Prince Ri Catalogue*, Numbers 452, 463; *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*, Numbers 3486, 3439.

[14] Compare Figure 16 and *Chōsen Koseki Zufu* Number 3441 and *Prince Ri Catalogue* Number 450.

[15] See page 73 quotation from T'ao-lu.

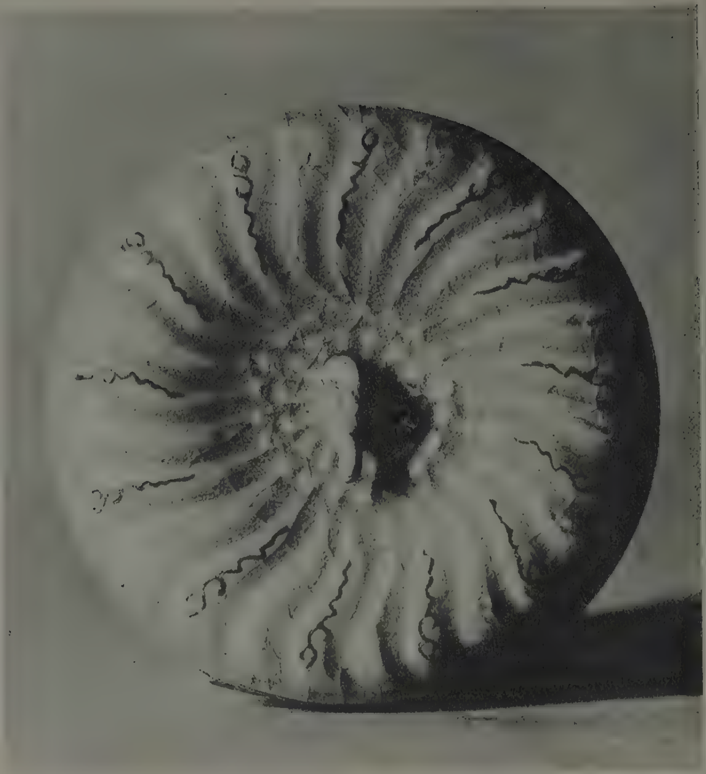


FIG. 128

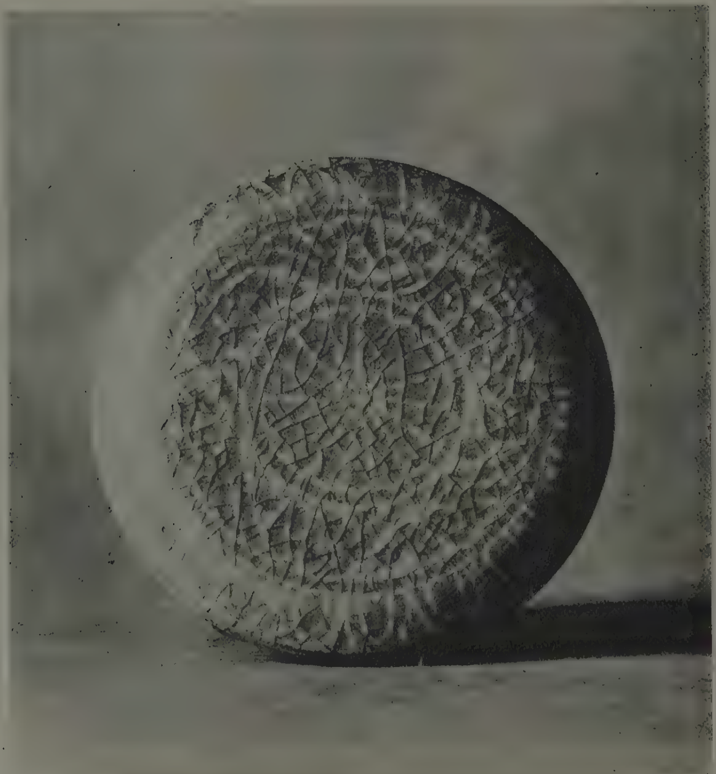


FIG. 129

PLATE LXIV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

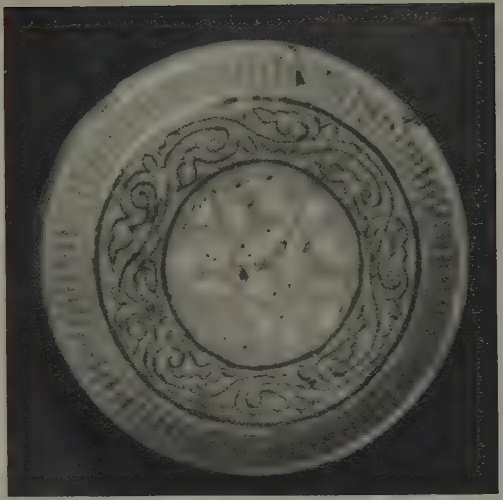


FIG. 130

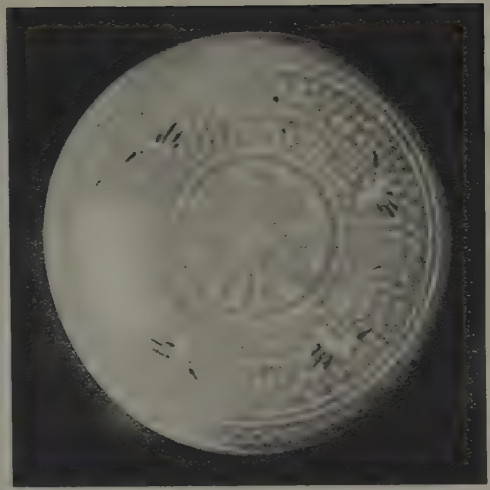


FIG. 131

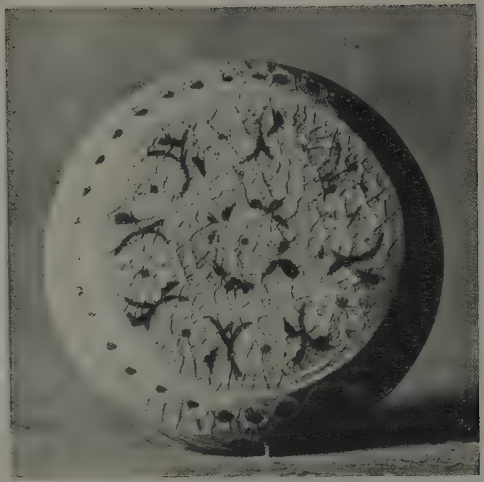


FIG. 132

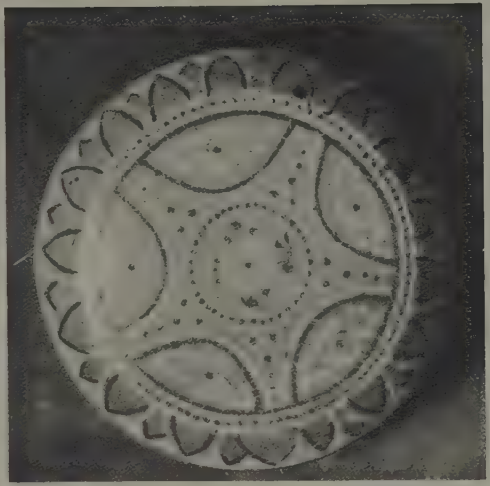


FIG. 133

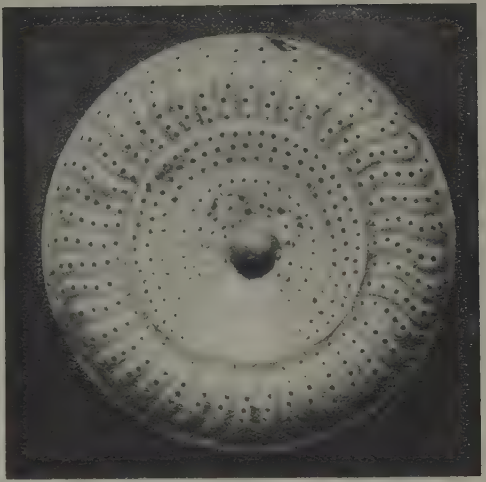


FIG. 134

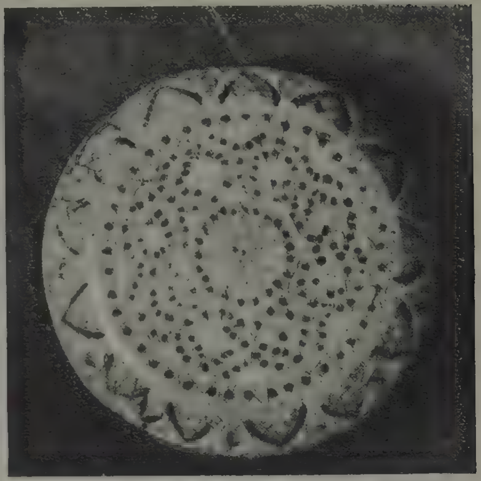


FIG. 135

PLATE LXV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

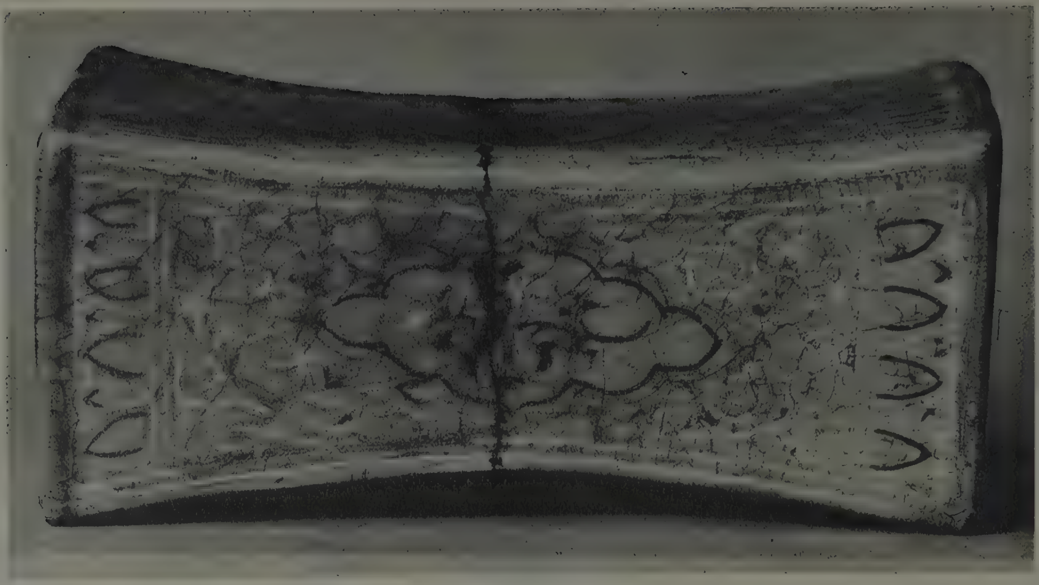


FIG. 136

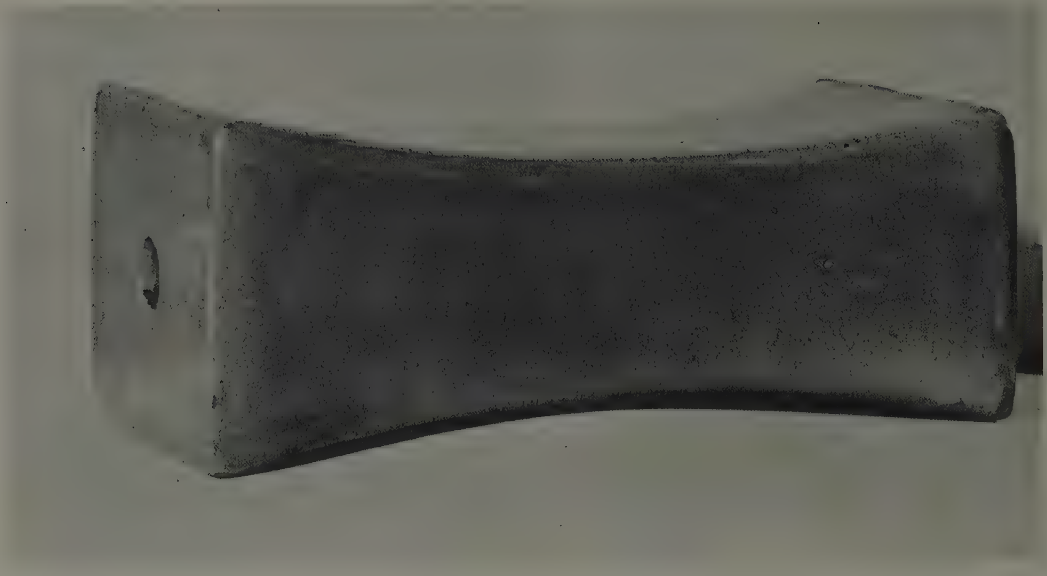


FIG. 137

Plate LXVI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

These inlaid pieces are to our eyes none the less beautiful in design and execution, and their technical peculiarity—that of having inlaid instead of incised or applied designs—was early considered by the Japanese to be a manner worth copying. Whereas this form of pottery does not occur in early China, it was the direct forerunner of the Japanese *mishima*, as has been shown in a preceding chapter.

An unglazed jar of Kōrai *zōgan* which I have been permitted to study in Korea has been of the utmost service in elucidating several vexed points about potting and body clay.

It is a perfectly finished piece, with both black and white inlay, except for the fact that for some reason, unknown to us today, the ancient potter omitted the glaze. Thus it may be taken as a typical example of the first stage through which the ware passed, and we can examine the bare bones, as it were, to find out what lies below the translucent *seiji* glaze.

The first thing that is noticeable is that the potter was evidently unable to regulate the heat of his kiln, and that the different parts of the high jar differ from each other considerably in colour. This explains the gamut of shades which have been mistakenly attributed to the glaze alone. For on this unglazed example there is the familiar rich grey which we have taken for the normal, and then all the tones varying from it into a terra-cotta pink. The latter colour evidently is the one which produces the blush of lilac often seen on *seiji* and *zōgan* where the glaze is thin. Even the normal grey itself shows variations, for on one spot it darkens to an almost brownish tinge, the same that makes a glazed pot olive grey. Though occasionally of so even a colour that it seems to represent an intentional departure from a *seiji* glaze, I am convinced it is always a misfire.

The faults which are common in Kōrai wares show all the more glaringly in the rough body clay, before the glaze has been spread. Marks of potter's tools have scored the surface and in one or two places small pebbles have been allowed to remain embedded. These are the very flaws which so often give variety and play of colour to the finished examples, but they are a surprising lapse in craft for a people capable of perfectly finished work.

As a rule the pattern is inlaid, but in some pieces it is the background (Figure 80).

The following designs are some of those to be found in Kōrai *zōgan* ware:

Unkaku, literally "storks and clouds;" a design so common that the name was at one time given by the Japanese to all Kōrai inlaid ware; white except where the legs, bills, eyes, and tail feathers of the storks and the edges of the clouds were black. Sometimes this design is in a close "allover" pattern (Figures 69, 102, and others), sometimes spread out and well grouped. (Figure 64, and others.)

Meander, like "Greek key" pattern; white or white and black. (Rim of Figures 113, 117, and others.)

Lotus petals, white, or white and black. (Figure 132, and others.)

Foliated border, called in Japanese *karakusa*, (literally, Chinese grass or tendril). (Figures 135, and others.)

Bamboo and storks; black and white (Figure 60).

Chrysanthemum heads, like daisies. White or white and black; closely placed as in a chain; black leaves (Figure 70). Sprays of heads of chrysanthemums, with leaves white or white and black, placed at wide intervals (Figure 68, and others). Sprays of chrysanthemums treated with more freedom (Figure 74).

Groups of pomegranates (Figures 116-118).

Reeds, white or black and white (Figure 73, and others) generally in connection with ducks or willow trees. A design including reeds, willow trees and ducks is a literary and artistic convention in Japan called *horyū-suikin*.

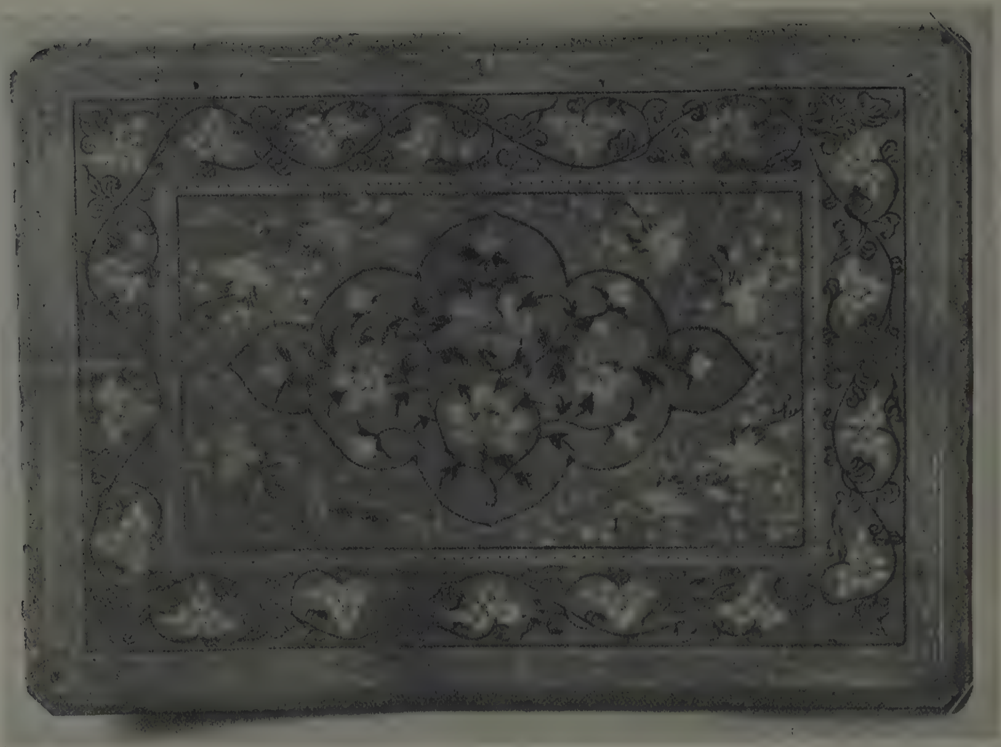


FIG. 138

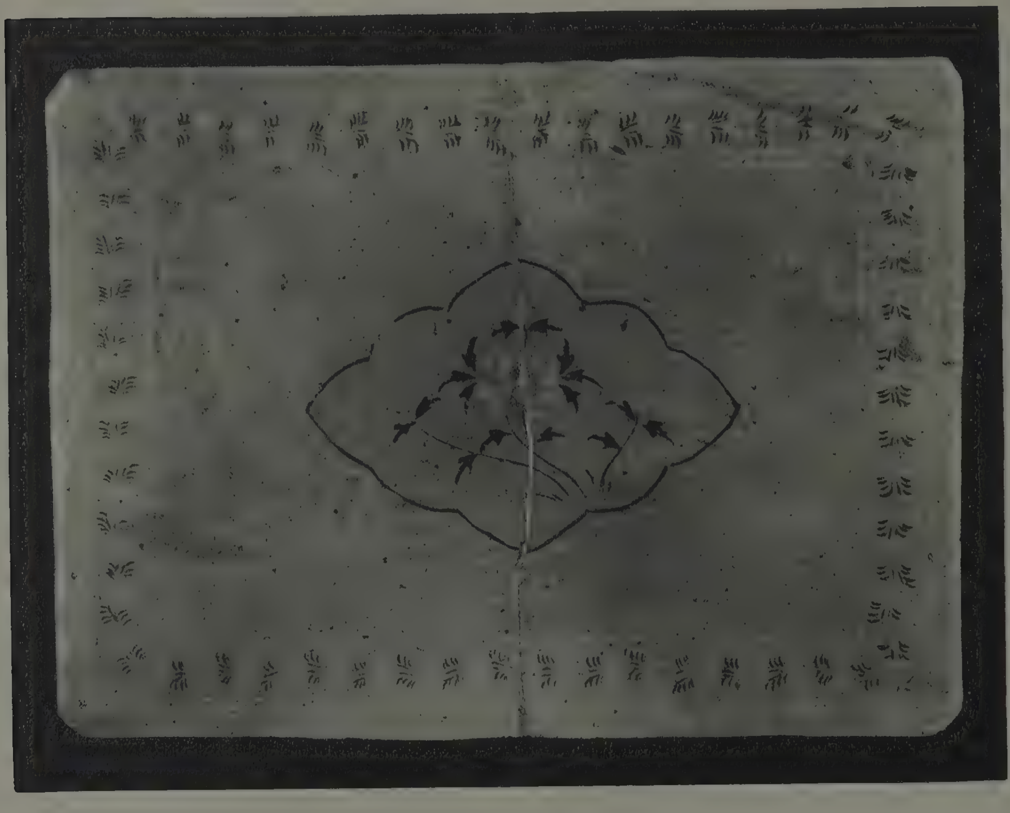


FIG. 139

PLATE LXVII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

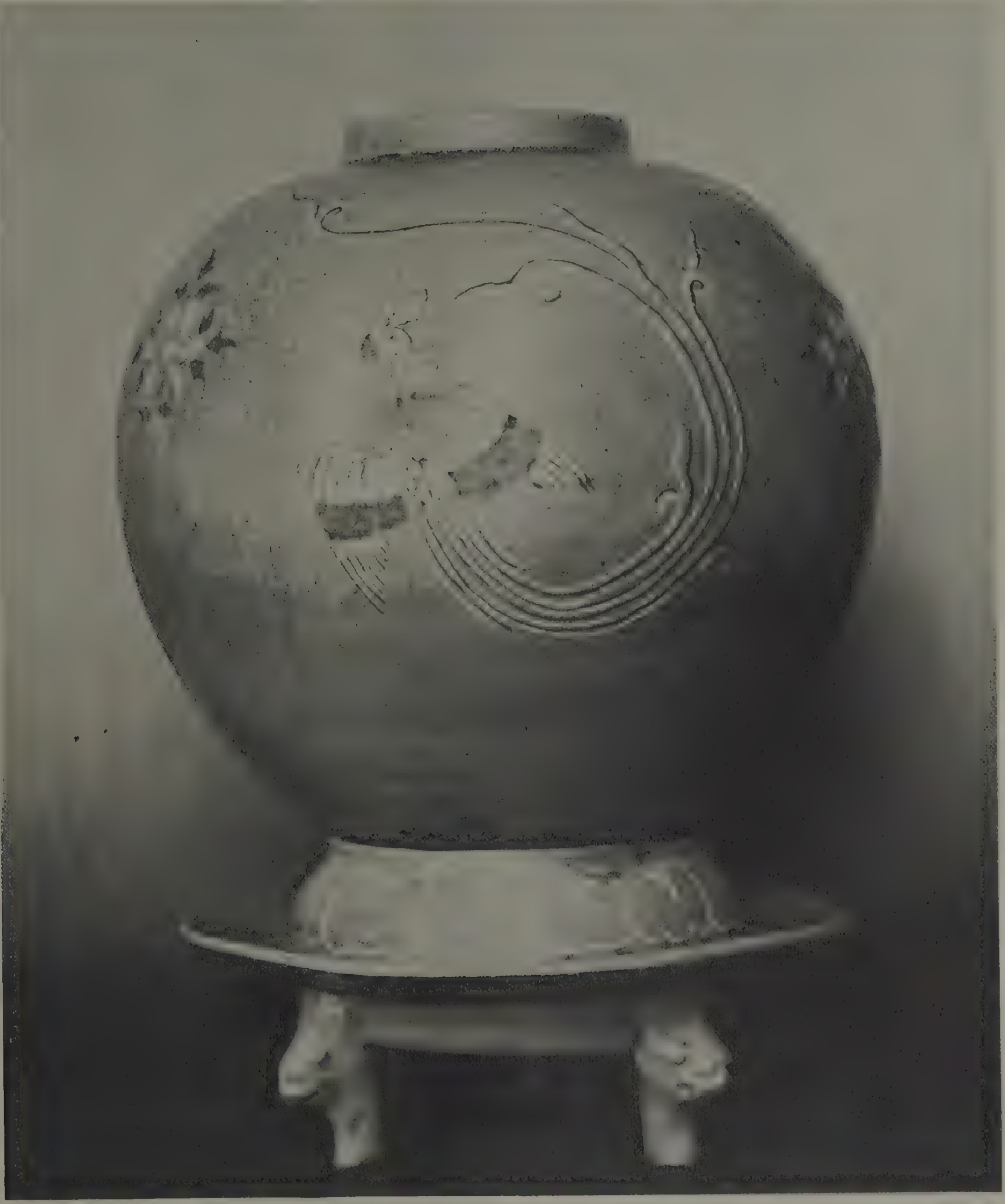


FIG. 140

PLATE LXVIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

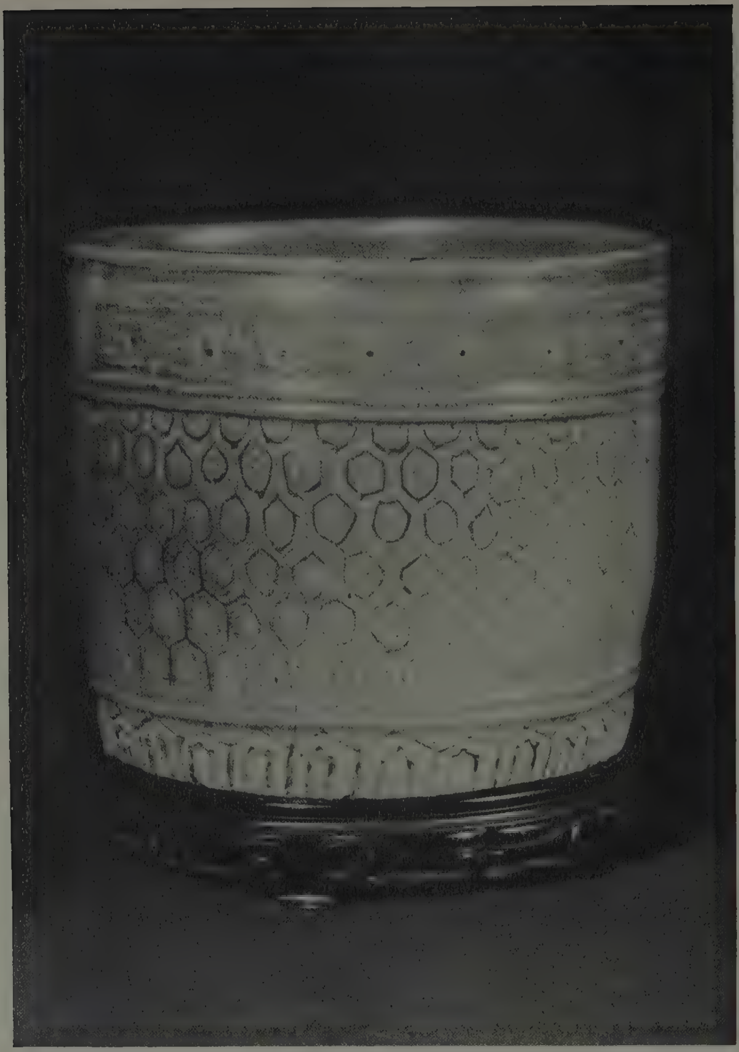


FIG. 141

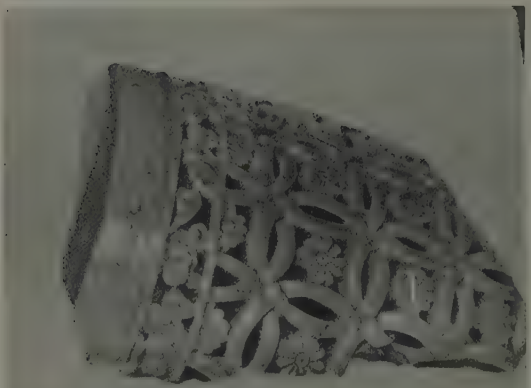


FIG. 142

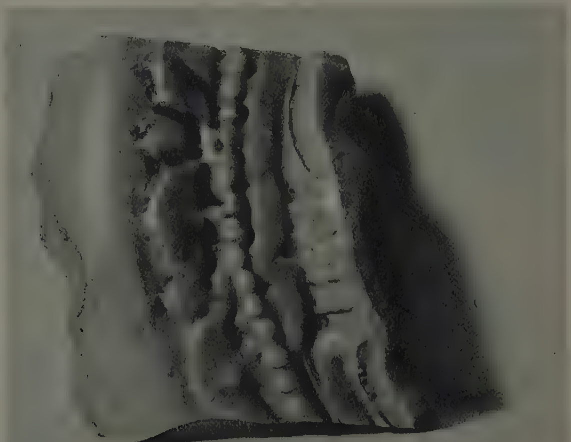


FIG. 143

PLATE LXIX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

Spray of peony-like flowers common in Korea, called in Japanese *botan* (Figure 112).

Karako (Chinese children) (Figures 89, 91, 109, 152, and others) treated with considerable freedom; generally better in design than are the *seiji* examples.

Fish, white sometimes with black details, in white circles (Figures 119-121, and others).

In addition to these designs are a number of unidentified flower and tree forms. Some accompanied by ducks, cranes, or *hōwō* birds. It would be interesting to find out whether these are free representations of natural objects in haphazard combination, or whether the grouping is the result of literary suggestion, as in the Japanese designs of nightingale and plum, tiger and bamboo, dragon and waves and so forth.

In the bottom of a certain bowl two storks are shown with their necks intertwined.

A good powder box in a private collection has on its cover two storks flying toward one another.

Other powder boxes (Figures 130 to 135) have intricate and often beautiful designs of conventionalized chrysanthemums framed in panels of various curved outlines. This combination of natural and geometric forms is admirably carried out on some of the larger vases.

Inscriptions are uncommon but there are in Korean collections two or three known examples of poems written in the Chinese character, and some few single ideographs occur on the bottom of bowls, generally with a poetic or occult significance. One bottle is highly unusual in that the black iron pigment appears to have run in the firing (Figure 71).

For the most part natural forms are applied in Kōrai pottery as so many deliberate spots in a design, and are formalized to fit the decoration. Occasionally, however, they are treated freely and combined as in Figure 16 where ducks are standing on rocks surrounded by water plants and a pair of geese rise in the background.

It is interesting to follow certain obvious developments in Kōrai *zōgan* design. Originally, the simplest methods were used, and the patterns were of black or white clay inlaid in the grey clay of the body of the piece. Later, the patterns were left in the grey clay and the backgrounds were inlaid. In the opinion of the officials of the Museum at Seoul and of other connoisseurs, a white background is proof of a late date.

Another development was from convention to free drawing, a common process in all the arts. The Kōrai dynasty dates back to a time when China was only beginning to free herself from the artistic ritual that had originally been imposed on her by Buddhism. Korea, never quite contemporary in progress with her great mentor, was in possession of a fine tradition of formalized ornament.

We have seen how in the better pieces of Kōrai *seiji* and Kōrai *zōgan* formalism was evident in shapes and patterns alike. But as time went on, there came the natural groping for freedom. Less care was paid to what one might call the constructive problems of pottery; the fine lines that stood for balance and usefulness were ignored. The resultant work was clumsy in shape and potting, and the designs, in acquiring freedom of treatment, lost the sense of form.

Although several examples of Kōrai ware have a so-called red inlay (really a red pigment), they must have been rare, and judging by the glaze, design and potting they suggest a late date, if indeed they are not of the Ri period. In the large teapot that we illustrate, the glaze flows smoothly over the red colour, whereas it often pulls away from those parts of the design that are done in red (Figure 91). This pitcher is over ornate, and the red is dull and more like iron rust than like a successful colour. It, and a rather coarse bottle with red in the design, were offered to me for sale

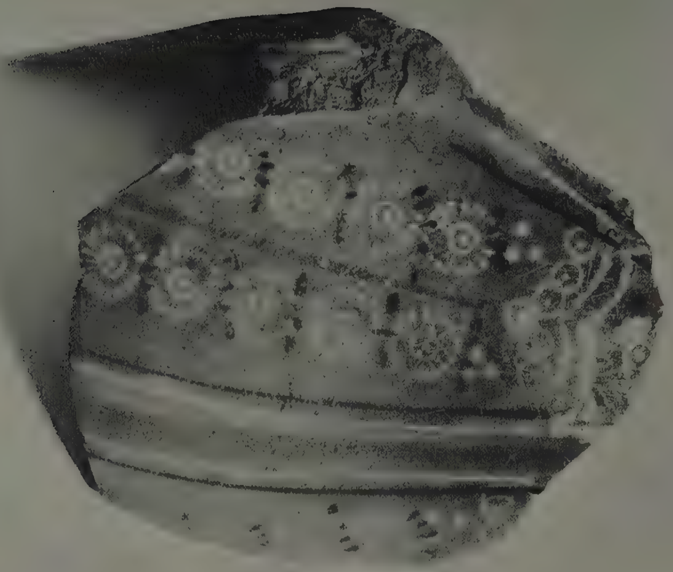


FIG. 144

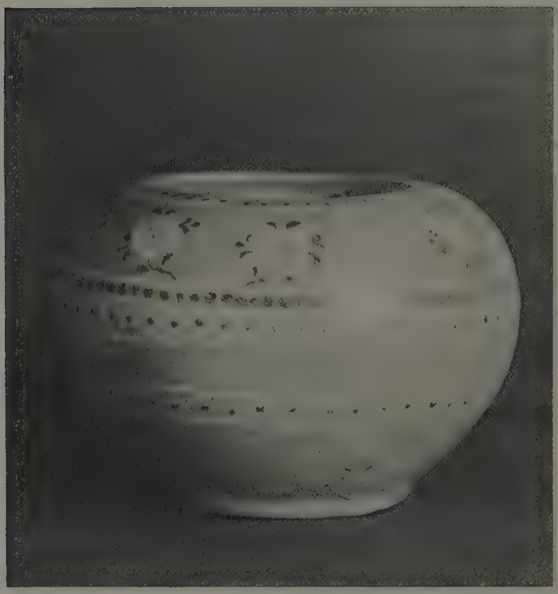


FIG. 145

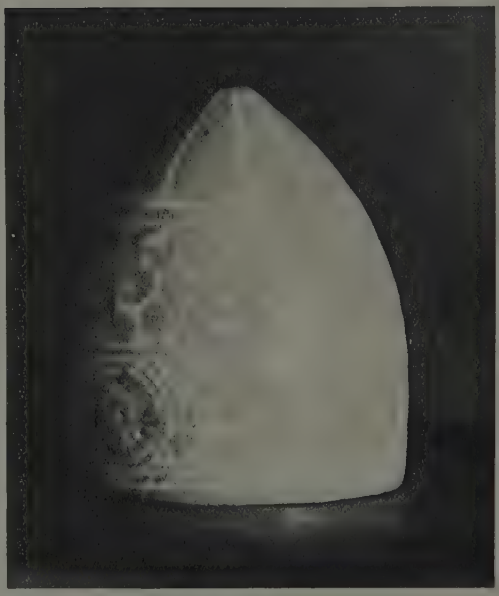


FIG. 146

PLATE LXX. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

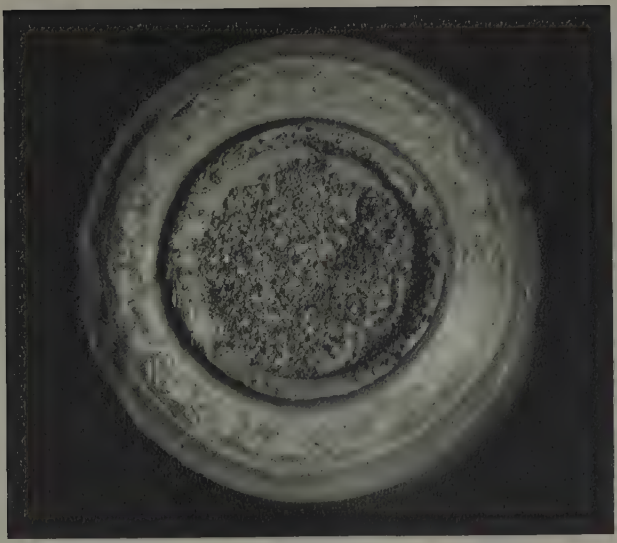


FIG. 147

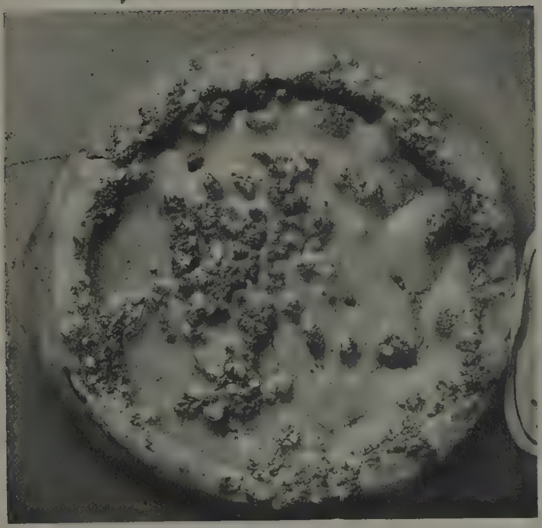


FIG. 148

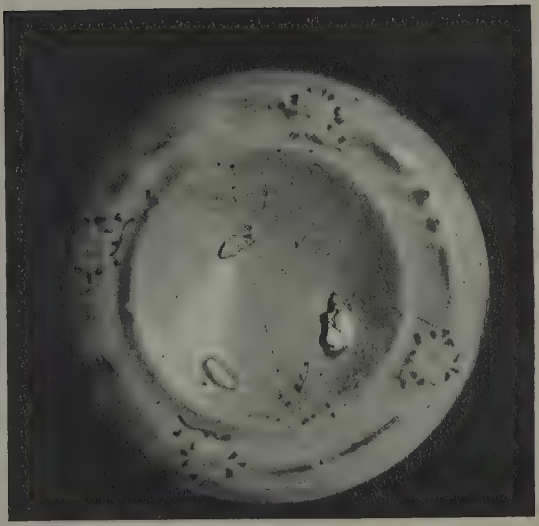


FIG. 149

PLATE LXXI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

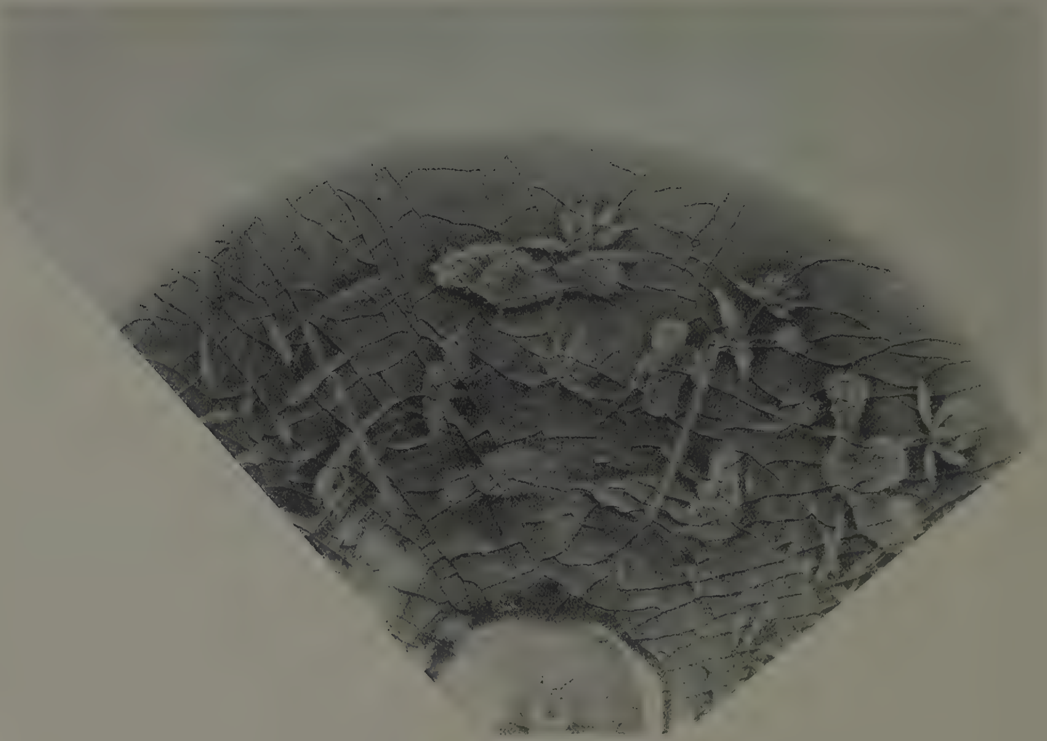


FIG. 150

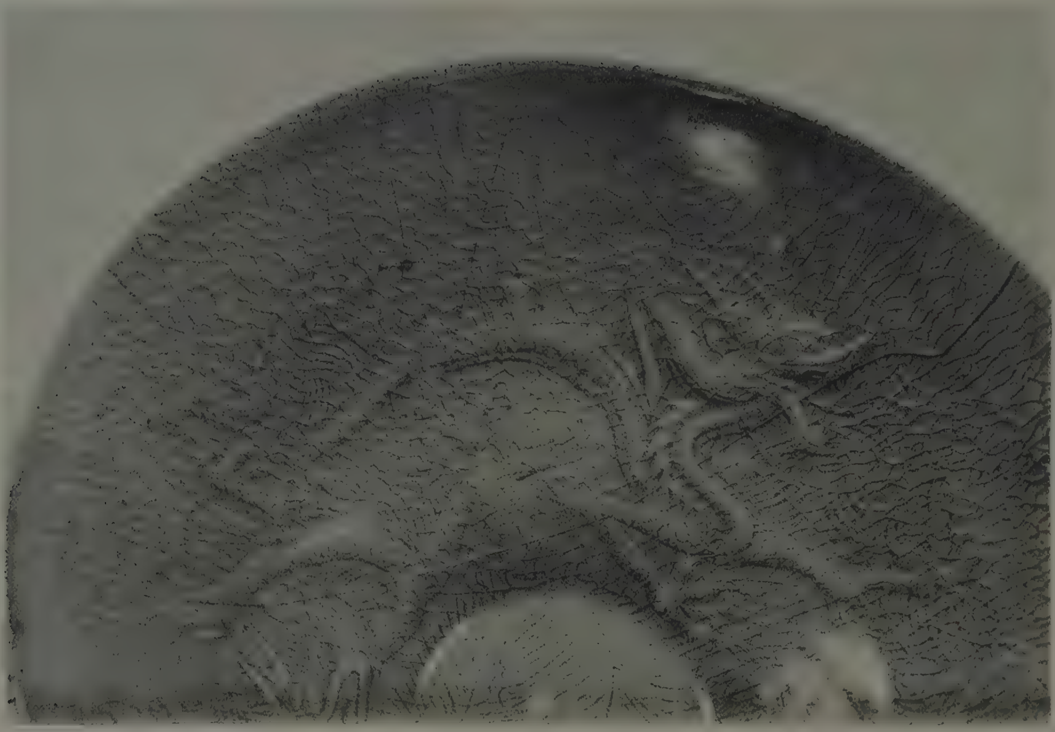


FIG. 151

Plate LXXII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* in Korea in 1911 for comparatively small prices, but I refused them because they were ill-made and ugly.

Another example of Kōrai *zōgan* with red colour is a jar in the Museum at Seoul, decorated with rampant dragons. Here again the glaze has drawn apart, leaving bare the scales of one of the dragons. These scales are red, whereas those of the other dragons that complete the design are black and white.

One or two examples in the Seoul Museum show red under the glaze, and these the Museum authorities think were painted deliberately. They are all late pieces, probably of the same period as Figure 91.

The value of these pieces with red colour rests chiefly on their rarity. An argument in support of the probable late date of intentional red decoration in Kōrai *zōgan* is that this same red colour is common enough in the decorations of many white pieces made during the Ri period. So far as we know it occurs in no *hōkugōrai* pieces and in few Kōrai *zōgan* pieces.

A word as to copies. I have seen lately a number of Kōrai yaki pieces of doubtful origin. The glaze is opaque when compared with genuine pieces; it is neither crazed nor crackled. On the unglazed base of a melon-shaped pitcher that I examined, a reddish slip was noticeable, and at first sight it seemed to extend from underneath the glaze. This was so unusual and would have so altered the colour of a deep water glaze, that I looked at it through a magnifying glass. The result was conclusive; the red slip had been put on the bare spaces after the final glazing. It was possible to see where the potter had unintentionally allowed it in several places to run over the glaze itself. It was a neat job otherwise, for in the places where the glaze had parted slightly, Korean fashion, the same slip had been applied to make it seem that it covered the entire body of the piece under the glaze. As a matter of fact it was almost surely done to hide a non-Korean clay and make the fraud less noticeable.

While slip is very unusual in Kōrai pottery there are some examples which apparently possess it.

A characteristic of imitations is that they are apt to be too clean cut and sophisticated in outline, the natural result of copying. This aesthetic difference can of course be detected only after many genuine examples have been studied. Often a portion of the bottle or the cover of a pitcher is genuine and the rest fraudulent.

In the little town of Uji near Kyōto, Japan, Mr. Matsubayashi (who, by the way, believes himself to be descended from the craftsmen imported from Korea by Hideyoshi) is making excellent reproductions of Kōrai *seiji* and *zōgan*. Fortunately for us his pride in his work causes him to sign his pieces, and there is no danger of their being taken for ancient examples. Glaze and body clay and inlaid design are all perfect—one is tempted to say too perfect, for his work has none of the Korean roughness, and he allows no imperfections to interfere with its finish.

Figures 124-127 shows a bowl made by him. The base has a perfectly controlled glaze, and lacks spur marks, and the piece is signed.

Copies and imitations made with intent to deceive are produced in Japan in several places, but the glaze is too vitreous and glossy, generally browner or more opaquely green than that of true Kōrai, the potting invariably too delicate and the shapes formal and over true in these. Like the originals, the whole pieces are glazed over and the spur marks consist in these scars made by clay or stone stilts which have been broken away.

During the last few years, the Japanese have started, at great expense, some potteries in Korea which use the ancient pits for their supply of clay, and attempt the ancient green glaze. The finest work today is done by Tomita & Company at Chemulpo, (a ware named by its maker Sanwa Kōrai), and at Seoul by Umi-ichi Company. Their work is legitimately confined to obvious reproduction for the every-day use of

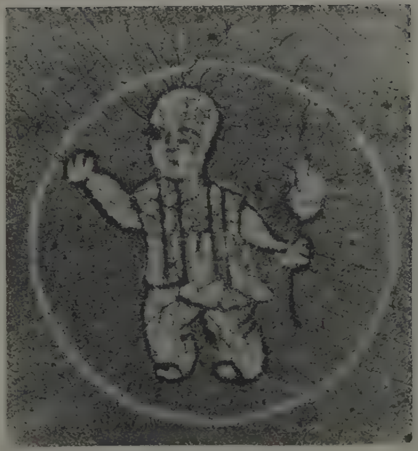


FIG. 152

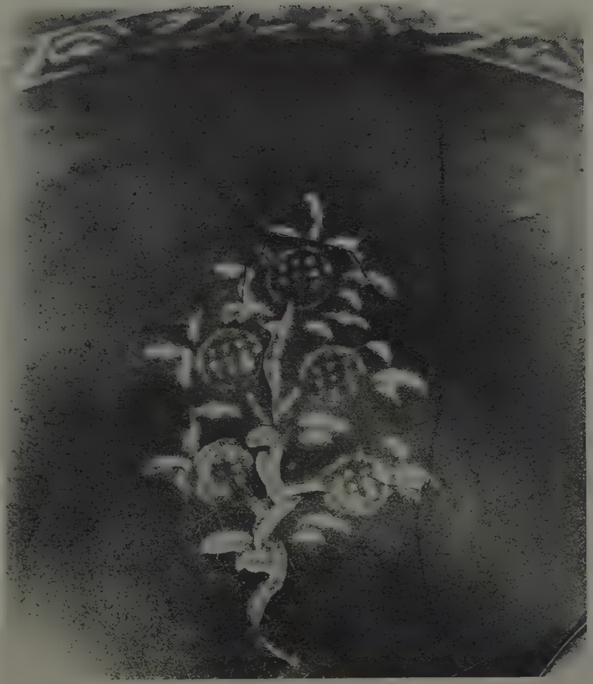


FIG. 153

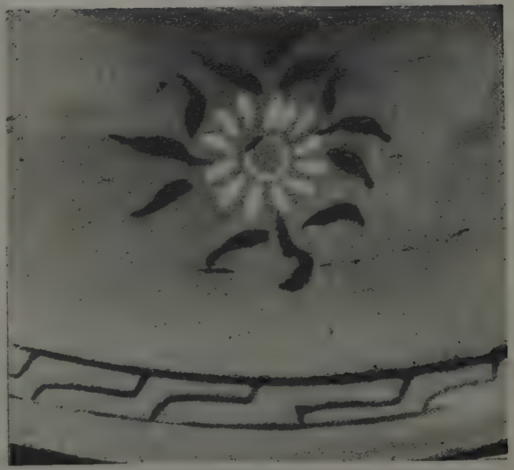


FIG. 154

Plate LXXIII. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

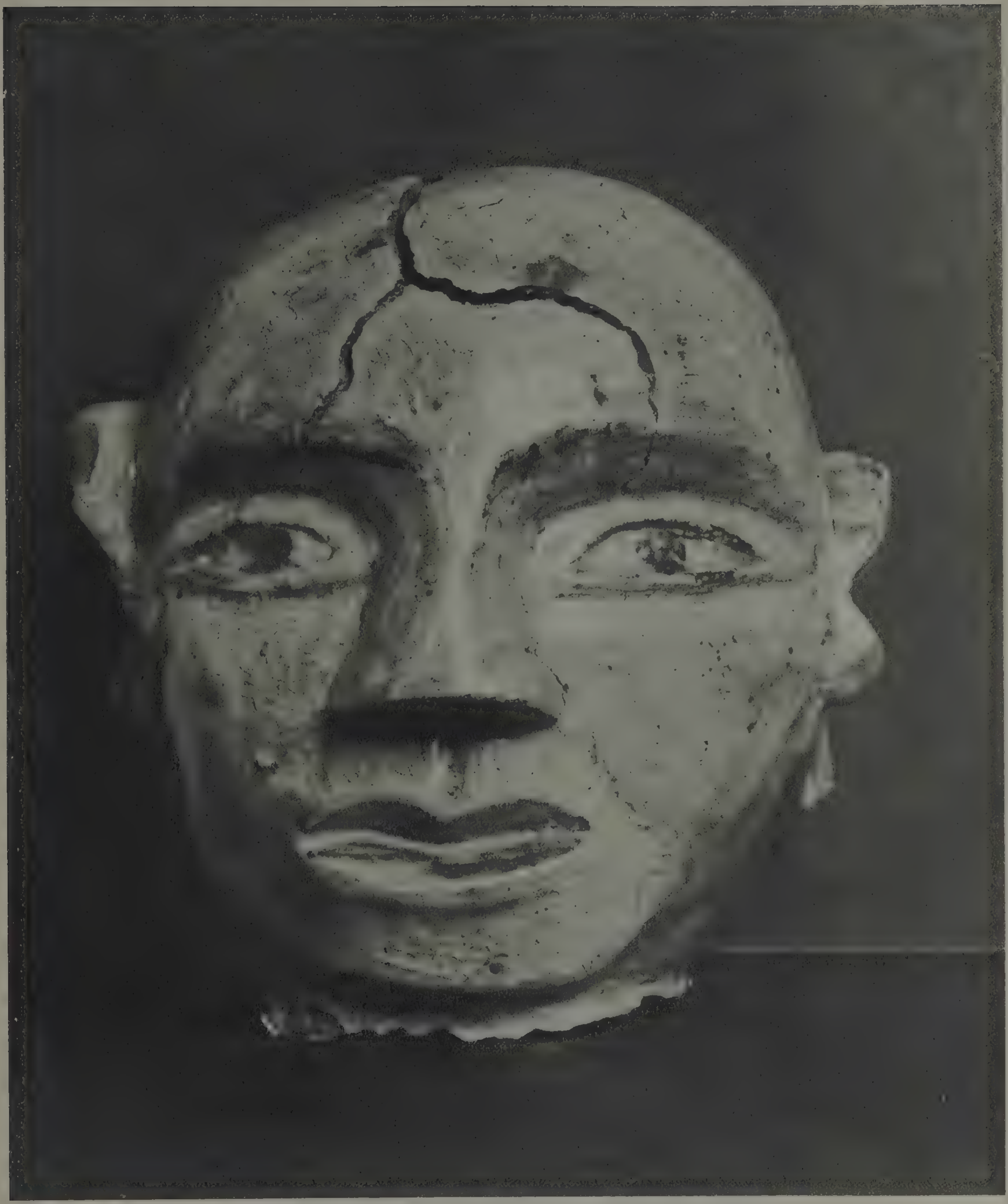


FIG. 155

Plate LXXIV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

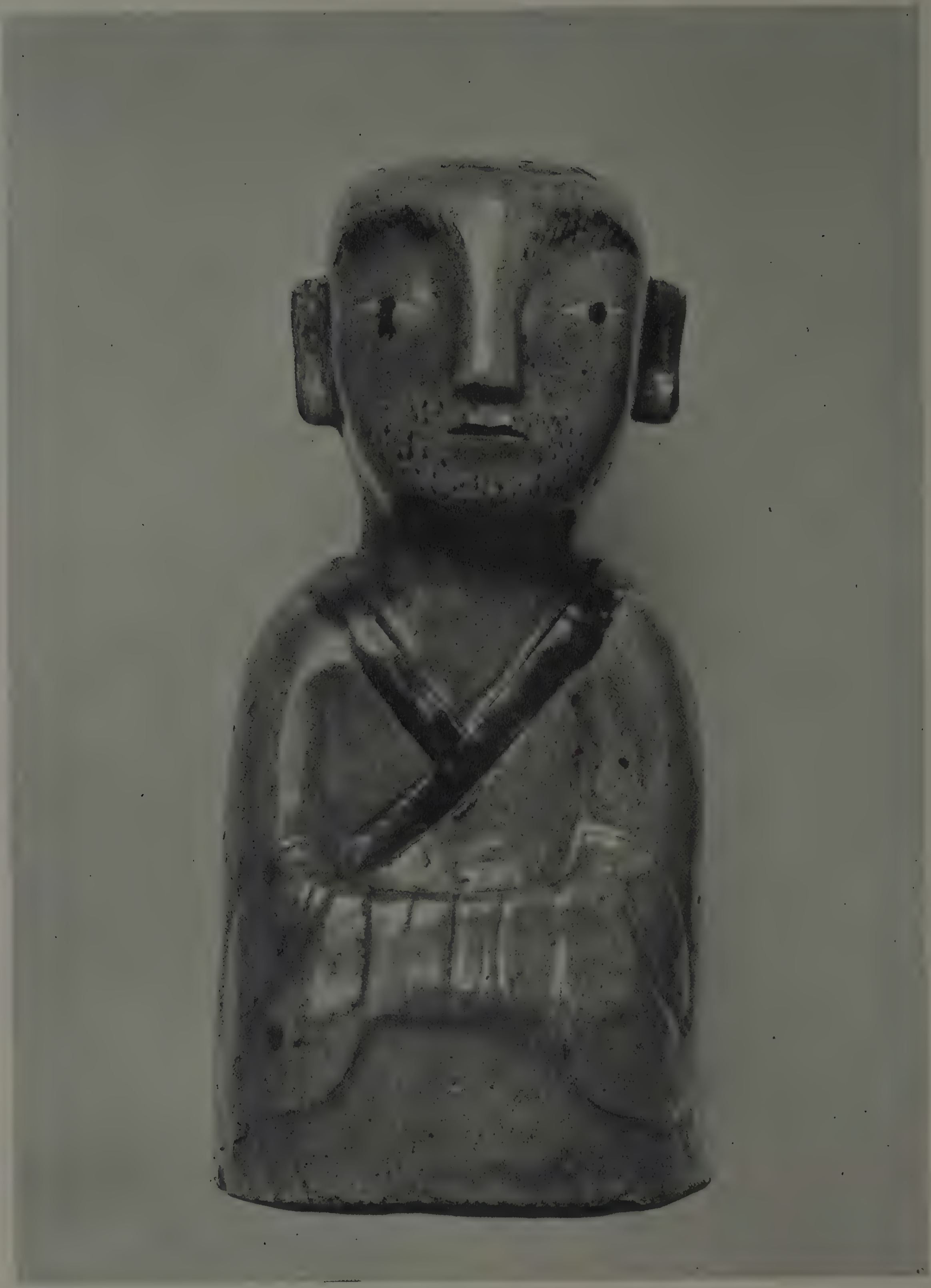


FIG. 156

PLATE LXXV. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America*

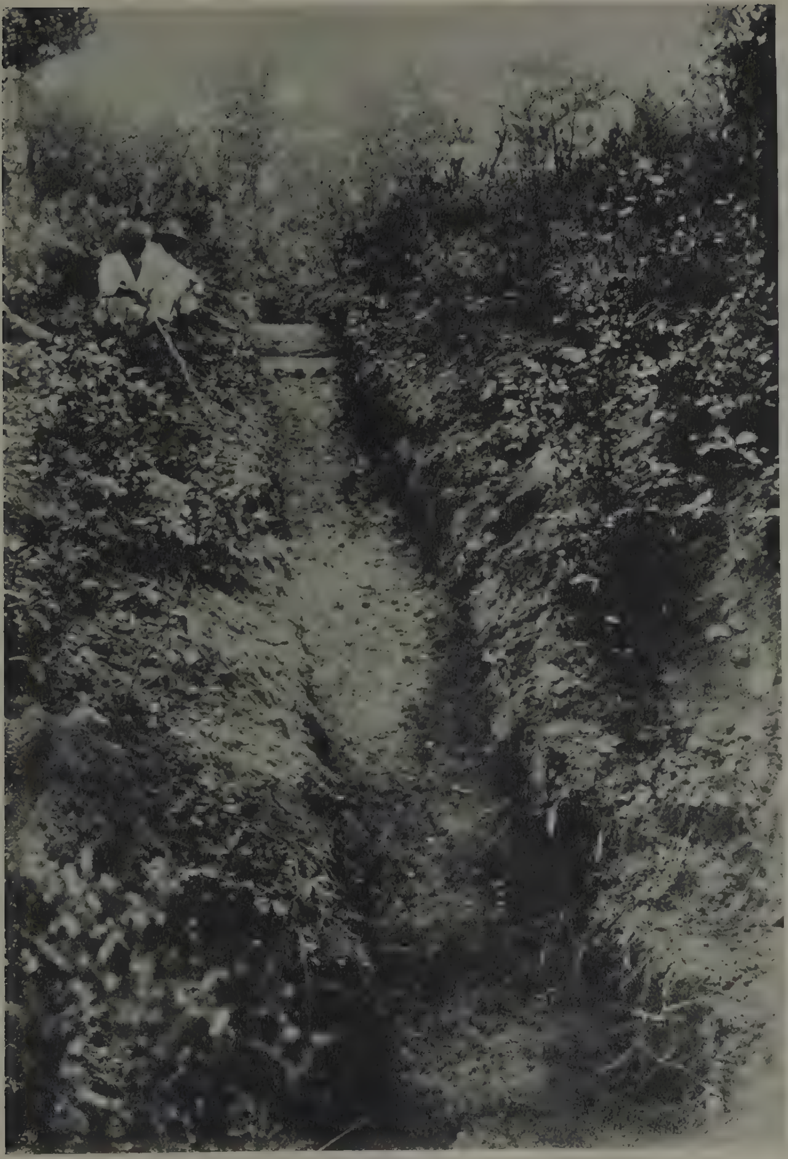


FIG. 157

Plate LXXVI. *Warner: Kōrai Celadon in America* the Japanese. Consequently many of the shapes are not those of Kōrai times. They have caught the colour closely but apparently have not attempted to copy the bases, for all the examples now on sale show no spur marks and have an even red tinge over the bare feet. The glaze is deep bubbled, sometimes slightly crazed or crackled.

It is impossible to make rules for the detection of spurious Kōrai pottery, but one should be sure that the glaze is not too evenly brilliant, that the foot shows the proper spur marks.

Some of the forms of repair are likely to escape attention by collectors unfamiliar with the Orient. The commonest is that done with a greenish translucent wax. It is very close in colour to the glaze, but is easy to detect by its consistency. A form of water-glass often deceives the amateur at first sight, as it is translucent and can be delicately coloured in correct imitation of the original. This, naturally, scratches more easily than true glaze and can be readily detected with a pin point or a knife, or by the sound it gives out when tapped.

The only legitimate form of mending, the only one that does not detract from the beauty of the object, is that done by the Japanese with gold lacquer. It strengthens the pot and the cobweb line of gold is not at all unpleasing.

It is perhaps hardly necessary to recall the simple test of the perfection of any piece of sonant or partly sonant pottery; when struck, such a piece will have a clear sound if whole, and a dull muffled one if cracked or mended.

Spurious Kōrai pottery may probably be detected by the presence of one or more of the following characteristics; entire absence of craze or crackle, an opaque and solid quality of the glaze, any device whereby the clay and spurs are entirely hidden, too great perfection of potting.

In speaking of Korean pottery, especially Kōrai *seiji* and *zōgan* it is worth while to note a peculiarity of the pieces, which would in our opinion mar their beauty but which does not do so at all in the opinion of many Japanese tea-masters. These are the many imperfections of potting. Faults in shape are frequent, cracks and even pebbles are often glazed over. In many cases the glaze is allowed to run as far as it will, and the makers had evidently no control over their materials. The author has seen a piece where one of the three spurs on the base was glazed onto the pot by accident and never removed, thus making it impossible to stand the piece upright.

Owing to lack of scientific investigation, it is impossible to say whether these flaws are found only in the pottery buried with the dead or whether they occur also in the household pieces.

These faulty pieces, which to our mind show poor workmanship, are sometimes prized by Japanese tea-masters. Perhaps the reason lies in the esoteric rite of serving tea, which with its charming conventions and its traditions is influenced as much by historical sentiment as by aesthetic appreciation, and harks back to the days when Korean pottery was much rarer than it is today, and when flaws could be ignored for the sake of the romantic association and for the provenance of the pieces. The tea-masters use as incense boxes the powder boxes dug up in Songdo and its neighborhood, but their treasured bowls, with a great history like that of the Ido of Daitokuji, the Taikō's bowl, already referred to, are hand-moulded types of an entirely different ware from that with which this paper is concerned.

DESCRIPTION OF FIGURES

[Abbreviations: C.M.A., Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland. M.F.A., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Met. Mus., Metropolitan Museum, New York. F.M.A., Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University. Hoyt Coll., Collection belonging to Charles Baine Hoyt, New York. Freer, Freer Gallery, Washington. R.H., *Riōke Hakubutsukan Shozōhin Shashinjō*. C.K.Z., *Chōsen Koseki Zufu*. Le Blond, *A Catalogue of the Le Blond Collection of Corean Pottery*, Bernard Rackham. Eckardt, *A History of Korean Art*, Andreas Eckardt. The Fitzgerald Collection, much of which was lent to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was dispersed two years ago.]

1. Covered jar, with handles. Seiji, incised. For shape, cf. C.K.Z. Number 3621. Height 27.1 cm.; diameter 18.1 cm. Freer.

2. Jar with handles, cover missing. Seiji, incised. One of the only two examples from western collections published in C.K.Z., where it appears as Number 3435. Height 25.7 cm.; diameter 19.4 cm. Lyman Collection, M.F.A.

3. High-shouldered jar. Seiji, incised. One of the only two examples from western collections published in C.K.Z. where it appears as Number 3434. For dragon, cf. Figures 25, 37, 38, 39. Height 35.3 cm.; diameter 23.1 cm. M.F.A.

4. High-shouldered jar. Seiji, incised. This is a finer piece of work than C.K.Z. Number 3433 (R.H. Number 451) which it greatly resembles. Height 28.5 cm.; diameter 18.8 cm. Freer.

5. High-shouldered jar. Seiji, incised. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3432. Height 35 cm.; diameter 22.1 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection. Met. Mus.

6. High-shouldered jar. Seiji, incised. Cf. Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 297. Height 28.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

7. High-shouldered jar. Seiji, incised. Cf. Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 297. Wetzel Coll., F.M.A.

8. High-shouldered jar. Seiji, incised. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

9. Bottle. Seiji, incised. Shape suggested by bamboo; nodes incised. Height 34.6 cm.; diameter 18.7 cm. M.F.A.

10. Bottle. Seiji. Height 40 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

11. Oil bottle with stopper. Seiji. Height 8.9 cm.; diameter 7.6 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

12. Oil bottle. Seiji. Height 1.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

13. Teapot, shaped like bamboo sprout. Seiji. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3446 (R.H. Number 446); Le Blond Number 42. Height 24.8 cm.; diameter 24.8 cm. Hoyt Coll. F.M.A.

14. Teapot, shaped like bamboo sprout. Seiji. Height 28.7 cm.; diameter 25.6 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection.

15. Teapot, shaped like melon. Seiji. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3442, 3424. Height 19.9 cm.; diameter 21.7 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection.

16. Teapot, shaped like gourd. Seiji, incised. Cf. drawing of mandarin duck on C.K.Z. Number 3441 (R.H. Number 450). Design called Horyusuikin. Height 26.8 cm.; diameter 19.9 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection. Met. Mus.

17. Teapot, shaped like gourd. Seiji, undecorated, except for black knob on cover. Height 25.4 cm. C. W. Gould Collection.

18. Teapot, shaped like gourd. Seiji, incised. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 2451, 3609. Met. Mus.

19. Teapot. Seiji, incised. Height 21 cm.; width 22.9 cm. C.M.A.

20. Cup and stand. Seiji, incised. Cup in calyx form. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3473. For zōgan examples, cf. Figures 92–97. Stand, elaborately carved feet. In centre inverted lotus in relief, with an incised flower; circle of incised tendril. Cup: Height 6.5 cm.; diameter 7 cm. R. Tyson, Chicago.

21. Cup and stand. Seiji, incised. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3473, 3474. Height 11.2 cm. Hoyt Coll. F.M.A.

22. Stand for cup. Seiji, incised. Border with floral design. Inner circle, fish in waves. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3473; Figures 34, 35, 36; zōgan examples Figures 119,120; C.K.Z. Number 3587, Le Blond Number 60. Height 3.5 cm.; diameter 14 cm. F. G. Macomber Collection, M. F. A.

23. Stand for cup. Seiji, incised. Border, tendrils. Inner circle, fish in waves. Cf. notes on Figure 22. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

24. Stand for bowl. Seiji. Incised lines accentuate shape of flare and form petals to the bowl holder. Shape not illustrated in C.K.Z. or R.H. Height 5.5 cm.; diameter 17.3 cm. M.F.A.

25. Stand for bowl. Seiji. Border, meander. Inner circle, dragons. Cf. design on Figures 3, 38, 39. Shape not illustrated in C.K.Z. or R.H. Diameter 17.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

26. Stand for bowl. Seiji. Incised. Shape not illustrated in C.K.Z. or R.H. Height 3.5 cm.; diameter 11.5 cm. M.F.A.

27. Rectangular jar. Seiji. Probably moulded. A unique piece, in delicacy of design and execution. Height 11.1 cm.; diameter 16.2 cm. Wetzel Collection, M.F.A.

28. Cover for a teapot. Seiji. Sculptured duck on lotus. A fragment of similar design in H. D. Walker Collection, Minneapolis. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3613. Height 22.9 cm. Met. Mus.

29. Bowl. Seiji. Cf. Le Blond Number 48. Height 11.4 cm.; diameter 7 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

30. Bowl. Seiji. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3490; Le Blond Number 55. Lotus petals used as in Greek egg-and-dart. Height 11.2 cm.; diameter 21.6 cm. M.F.A.

31. Bowl or dish. Seiji. Flower-shaped; seven foliations. Diameter 19.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

32. Bowl or cup. Seiji. Lotus petals used as in Greek egg-and-dart. Cf. Figure 30; C.K.Z. Numbers 3490,3493, 3494. Height 7.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

33. Bowl. Seiji. Hōwō birds, incised. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3492; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 289; Le Blond Numbers 58,59. Height 6.5 cm.; diameter 16.5 cm. R. Tyson, Chicago.

34. Bowl. Seiji. Fish in waves, incised. Cf. notes on Figure 22. Height 6.4 cm.; diameter 14.6 cm. M.F.A.

35. Bowl. Seiji. Fish in waves; low relief. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3480; notes on Figure 22. Yamanaka, New York.

36. Bowl. Seiji. Fish in waves, low relief. Cf. notes on Figure 22. Diameter 19.25 cm. Hoyt Coll. F.M.A.

37. Bowl. Seiji. Dragons and waves. Cf. Figures 3, 25, 38, 39. Height 8.9 cm.; diameter 20.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

38. Bowl. Seiji. Dragons in low relief. Border, tendrils. Cf. Figures 3, 25, 37, 39. Yamanaka, New York.

39. Bowl. Seiji. Dragon, incised. Height 5 cm.; diameter 13.9 cm. M.F.A.

40. Bowl. Seiji. Clouds and storks in relief. Unusual pattern for seiji; common in zōgan. Yamanaka, New York.

41. Bowl. Seiji. Peony flower and leaves in low relief. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3489; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 299; Le Blond Number 69. Height 6 cm.; diameter 19.1 cm. Met. Mus.

42. Bowl. Seiji. Peony flowers and leaves, incised. Cf. Le Blond Number 61. Height 3.8 cm.; diameter 11.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

43. Bowl. Seiji. Shape suggested by chrysanthemum. Cf. Le Blond Number 137. Height 4.6 cm.; diameter 14.8 cm. M.F.A.

44. Bowl. Seiji. Calyx-shaped. Height 4.5 cm.; diameter 10.5 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

45. Bowl. Karako and grapes. Cf. Figures 46, 47, 48, 49; C.K.Z. Number 3483; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 300. Hobson (*Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, I, 85) calls this a Chinese design. Height 5.6 cm.; diameter 17.7 cm. Freer.

46. Bowl. Karako and foliage. See notes on Figure 45. Met. Mus.

47. Bowl. Karako and grapes. See notes on Figure 45. R. Tyson, Chicago.

48. Bowl. Seiji. Karako among lotus and reeds. This bowl is olive-drab in colour. Appears to be identical in design with Figure 49, which is superb, Kōrai greenish-blue, and with C.K.Z. Number 3483. Height 5.4 cm.; diameter 17.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

49. Bowl. Seiji. See notes on Figure 48. Ross Collection, M.F.A.

50. Bowl. Seiji. Olive-drab. Honan type, possibly Chinese; lip flares out, which is not a Kōrai shape. Hobson (*Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, I, Pl. 18, Fig. 1) gives a Chinese example which he says has "brownish-green celadon glaze." Especially like C.K.Z. Number 3475. Cf. Eumorfopoulos Volume VI, F 301; C.K.Z. Numbers 3476, 3477, 3484, 3485, 3487; R.H. Numbers 459, 461, 462. Figure 51 is a pure Kōrai piece. Diameter 17.8 cm. M.F.A.

51. Bowl. Seiji. Undoubted Kōrai shape and colour. See notes on Figure 50. Height 6.7 cm.; diameter 19.9 cm. Macomber Collection, M.F.A.

52. Bowl. Seiji. See notes on Figure 50. Height 5.1 cm.; diameter 16.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

53. Bowl. Seiji. See notes on Figure 50. Diameter 17.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

54. Box. Seiji. Height 2.85 cm.; diameter 8.6 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

55. Box. Seiji. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3501. Diameter 9.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

56. Covered jar. Seiji. Height 5.1 cm.; diameter 5.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

57. Bowl with snout; perhaps for cooking. Diameter 17.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

58. Bottle with stopper. Seiji. Peony flower and leaves, incised. Shape apparently suggested by bamboo joint in gourd. Height 37.3 cm.; diameter 15 cm. Macomber Collection, M.F.A.

59. Bottle; shape as Figure 58. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3595 (Eckardt Number 374). Zōgan. Height 30.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

60, 61, 62. High-shouldered jar; zōgan. Birds in bamboo groves. Cf. Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 310. Height 31.2 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

63. High-shouldered jar. Flowers painted in white slip under glaze. Cf. Figure 109; C.K.Z. Number 3574. Height 38.7 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

64. High-shouldered jar. Zōgan. Design true unkaku; storks and clouds. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3621, 3633 (R.H. Number 480), 3624 (R.H. Number 476, Eckardt Number 368), 3625. Met. Mus.

65. High-shouldered jar. Zōgan. Dragon design. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3627; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 309 which has fish in waves. Height 34.3 cm.; diameter 17.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

66. High-shouldered jar, two sides flattened. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3628, 3629, 3630. Height 33 cm. John Platt, New York.

67. High-shouldered jar. Zōgan. Weeping willow and reeds. Height 31.5 cm.; diameter 18.8 cm. Freer.

68. Bottle. Zōgan. Chrysanthemum and peony. Height 35.6 cm.; diameter 19.8 cm. Freer.

69. Bottle. Zōgan. Chrysanthemum, peony, unkaku. Cf. Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 311. Height 32.8 cm. C. W. Gould, New York.

70. Bottle. Bands of chrysanthemum heads; mishima design. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3602 (Eckardt Number 373). Height 34.9 cm. Met. Mus.

71. Bottle. Zōgan. The black of the leaves has run in the glaze, not under it. Probably an iron black, overbaked. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3601. Height 30 cm.; diameter 5 cm. C.W. Gould, New York.

72. Bottle. Zōgan. Unkaku design. Height 33 cm. H. D. Walker, Minneapolis.

73. Bottle. Zōgan. Two panels, lily or iris and a grass called in Japan suzuki; two panels, willow and suzuki; two panels and unidentified flowers. Height 39.7 cm.; diameter 18.9 cm. M.F.A.

74. Bottle. Zōgan. Chrysanthemum and butterflies. H. D. Walker, Minneapolis.

75. Bottle, with loop to attach to cover. Zōgan. H. D. Walker, Minneapolis.

76. Small bottle. Zōgan. Height 19.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

77. Small bottle. Zōgan. Cf. R.H. Number 489; C.K.Z. Number 3606 (R.H. Number 488). Height 9.9 cm.; diameter 6.2 cm. M.F.A.

78. Small bottle. Zōgan. Unkaku design. Height 19.7 cm.; diameter 6.4 cm. C. W. Gould, New York.

79. Bottle. Zōgan. Treatment of design as in Figures 74 and 75. Height 40.3 cm.; diameter 14.6 cm. C.M.A.

80. Oil bottle. Zōgan. Background inlaid, design in grey clay. For technique cf. C.K.Z. Number 3636 (R.H. Number 475) R.H. Number 494. Height 5.7 cm.; diameter 8.3 cm. Met. Mus.

81. Oil bottle. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3668, 3669. Height 5.5 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection.

82. Oil bottle. Zōgan. Fine example of crackle. Height 4.8 cm.; diameter 7 cm. Hoyt Coll. F.M.A.

83. Bottle, with cover. Zōgan. A typical Kōrai shape, found in bronze in Shiragi times. Storks and willow; design free in treatment. Cf. seiji examples C.K.Z. Numbers 3441 (R.H. Number 450), 3440; zōgan examples C.K.Z. Numbers 3594, 3596 (R.H. Number 483, Eckardt Number 375). Height 38.1 cm. H. D. Walker, Minneapolis.

84. Bottle. Zōgan. Fine in design and technique. See notes on Figure 83. Height 31 cm.; diameter 13.7 cm. Freer.

85. Bottle. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 83. Very like Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 303. Another example is in M.F.A. Height 34.1 cm.; diameter 12.9 cm. Freer.

86. Teapot. Zōgan. Cf. Figures 87, 89; C.K.Z. Number 3617. Almost identical with Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 305. Height 19.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

87. Teapot. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3619 (R.H. Number 485, Eckhardt Number 377). Height 25.5 cm. Met. Mus.

88. Teapot. Zōgan. One handle probably a repair. Height 25.5 cm. H. D. Walker, Minneapolis.

89. Teapot. Zōgan. Karako and willow. Height 20.4 cm.; diameter 13.7 cm. C.M.A.

90. Teapot. Zōgan. Gourd-shaped, decorated with grapes and vine leaves. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3610 (R.H. frontispiece), 3611. Height 39 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

91. Teapot. Zōgan, with red outlines to petals. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3449. Height 30.5 cm.; diameter 16.7 cm. Freer.

92. Cup and stand. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3589, 3590, 3591, 3592 (R.H. Number 500, Eckardt Number 376), Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 319. Cup: Height 7 cm.; diameter 7.4 cm. Stand: Height 6 cm.; diameter 14.2 cm. M.F.A.

93. Cup and stand. Zōgan. Probably not mates. For cup, cf. Figures 94, 105. Seiji example same design Figure 21. Cf. Le Blond Number 74. Cup: Height 5.4 cm.; diameter 6.7 cm. Stand: Height 5.4 cm.; diameter 15.3 cm. Met. Mus.

94. Cup and stand. Zōgan. Probably not mates. See notes Figure 93. Cup: Height 5.1 cm.; diameter 7 cm. Stand: Height 4.8 cm.; diameter 9.9 cm. Met. Mus.

95. Cup. Zōgan. See notes Figure 92. Height 6 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

96. Bowl. Zōgan. Hōwō birds and flowers. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3582. Yamanaka, New York.

97. Bowl. Zōgan. Hōwō birds and flowers. Met. Mus.

98. Bowl. Zōgan. Unkaku (storks and clouds). Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3558, 3561, 3579, 3581, 3582, 3583, 3584; R.H. Number 506; Eckardt Number 383; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, 308, 318. Cf. Figures 99–107. Design occurs on many other pieces besides bowls. Diameter 12 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection.

99. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Diameter 19.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

100. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Height 9.9 cm.; diameter 20.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

101. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Outside of Figure 100.

102. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Wetzel Collection, F.M.A.

103. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Outside of Figure 102.

104. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Height 8.3 cm.; diameter 19.1 cm. Met. Mus.

105. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes Figure 98. Hōwō and clouds. Diameter 21 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

106. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Outside of Figure 105.

107. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 98. Hōwō and clouds. Height 6.4 cm.; diameter 19.1 cm. Met. Mus.

108. Bowl. Zōgan. Karako in circle. For detail, see Figure 109. Diameter 19.8 cm. Hoyt Coll. F.M.A.

109. Bowl. Zōgan. Karako in circle. Height 6.4 cm.; diameter 18.8 cm. Met. Mus.

110. Bowl. Zōgan. Shakuhyaku. Cf. inside of C.K.Z. Numbers 3577, 3578, 3677, 3679, etc. This design is always finely executed and on fine pieces of pottery. Cf. Le Blond Number 30. Height 8.7 cm.; diameter 16.5 cm. Met. Mus.

111. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes Figure 93. Height 5.1 cm.; diameter 8.3 cm. M.F.A.

112a & b. Hexagonal bowls. Zōgan. Same shape as C.K.Z. Number 3554. Diameter 11.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

113. Bowl. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3571, 3572. Outside of Figure 119. Height 6.7 cm.; diameter 20.4 cm. M.F.A.

114. Bowl. Zōgan. Outside of Figure 98. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3567, 3568, 3573; Le Blond Number 93. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection.

115. Bowl. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3574, Figure 63. Diameter 15.2 cm. Met. Mus.

116. Bowl. Zōgan. Pomegranates? Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3567, 3568; Le Blond Number 70. Diameter 19.5 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

117. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes Figure 116. Diameter 18.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

118. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes Figure 116. Height 8.9 cm.; diameter 19.8 cm. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection, F.M.A.

119. Bowl. Zōgan. Inside of Figure 113. Fish in circle. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3587, Le Blond Number 92. For seiji examples cf. Figures 34, 35, 36. The Met. Mus. has a bowl with this design in zōgan. Height 6.7 cm.; diameter 20.4 cm. M.F.A.

120. Bowl. Zōgan. See notes Figure 119. Diameter 19.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

121. Bowl. Zōgan. Outside of Figure 120.

122. Bowl. Zōgan. Flower sprays. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3573. Yamanaka, New York.

123. Bowl. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3556, 3573; R.H. Number 507. Yamanaka, New York.

124. Bowl. Zōgan. Ducks and willows. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3557, 3559, 3560, 3562, 3563, 3585, 3586; Le Blond Number 95; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, Numbers 304, 307. Yamanaka, New York.

125, 126, 127. Modern bowl made by Matsubayashi at Uji near Kyōto. Mrs. J. West Roosevelt, New York.

128. Cover of cosmetic box. Zōgan. Inverted chrysanthemum form of twenty-six petals. Rim unglazed. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3641. Height 4.6 cm.; diameter 10.8 cm. M.F.A.

129. Cover of cosmetic box. Zōgan. Background, instead of design, as in white inlay. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3648; R.H. Number 497. Height 3.7 cm.; diameter 9 cm. M.F.A.

130. Cosmetic box. Zōgan. Diameter 8.5 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

131. Cosmetic box. Zōgan. Unkaku. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3658. Le Blond Number 77. Diameter 13.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

132. Cosmetic box. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3646, etc. Formerly Fitzgerald Collection.

133. Cosmetic box. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3639, Le Blond Number 76. It is uncommon to have this design divided into five sections; generally in four. Diameter 10.5 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

134. Cosmetic box. Zōgan. Diameter 12.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

135. Cosmetic box. Zōgan. Diameter 5.1 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

136. Pillow. Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Numbers 3684 (R.H. Number 486, Eckardt Number 386). Height 9.7 cm.; diameter 22.4 cm. M.F.A.

137. Pillow. Seiji. Undecorated. F.M.A.

138. Writing board? Zōgan. Cf. C.K.Z. Number 3685 (R.H. Number 482, Eckardt Number 387). Height 31.7 cm.; diameter 22.9 cm. John Platt, New York.

139. Writing board? Zōgan. C.M.A.

140. Jar with stand. Zōgan. Hōwō bird and flowers. Stand probably does not belong? Jar: Height 20.5 cm.; diameter 20.7 cm. Stand: Height 8.7 cm.; diameter 18.6 cm. Freer.

141. Flower pot. Zōgan. Height 19.2 cm.; diameter 20.4 cm. Hoyt Coll., New York.

142. Fragment from a garden seat. Seiji. C.M.A.

143. Fragment, seiji, from kiln-site at Taikomen, Koshingun, Zenranado, collected by H. Asakawa. F.M.A.

144. Fragment, zōgan, from kiln-site at Taikomen, Koshingun, Zenra-nando, collected by H. Asakawa. F.M.A.

145. Small jar. Zōgan. Height 5.7 cm.; diameter 7.8 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

146. Cover for a jar. Zōgan. Cf. R.H. Number 504; Eumorfopoulos, Volume VI, F 306. Background, instead of design is in white inlay. Height 10.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

147. Base of box Figure 131; showing sand-spur.

148. Base of bottle Figure 12 showing sand-spur.

149. Base of bottle Figure 76 showing pebble-spur.

150. Detail of Figure 48.

151. Detail of Figure 37.

152. Detail of Number 108.

153. Detail, pomegranates.

154. Detail, chrysanthemum and meander.

155. Head. Zōgan. See notes on Figure 159. Height 14 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

156. Buddhist figure. Zōgan. Said to come from Kokaido in Koshugun where there was a big temple in Kōrai times. Height 19.2 cm. Hoyt Coll., F.M.A.

157. Kiln-site Taiko-men, Koshingun, Zenranando.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rackham, Bernard—*Catalogue of the Le Blond Collection of Corean Pottery*, Victoria and Albert Museum. London, 1918.

Bosch Reitz, S. C.—*Catalogue of an exhibition of early Chinese pottery and sculpture*, Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York, 1916.

Bushell, Stephen W.—*Description of Chinese Pottery and Porcelain, being a translation of the T'ao shuo.* Oxford, 1910.

Hobson, R. L.—*Chinese Pottery and Porcelain.* London, 1915.

Julien, Stanislas—*Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine Chinoise, ouvrage traduit du Chinois.* Paris, 1856.

New York Japan Society—*Chinese, Corean and Japanese potteries.* New York, 1914.

Petrucci, Raphael—*Corean pottery.* Burlington Magazine, Volume XXII. London, 1912–13.

Platt, John—*Ancient Korean Tomb Wares.* Burlington Magazine, Volume XX. London, 1911–12.

Hobson, R. L.—*The Catalogue of the George Eumorfopoulos Collection of Chinese, Corean and Persian Pottery and Porcelain;* Volume VI, pp. 34–44. London, 1928.

Hetherington, A. L.—*The Early Ceramic Wares of China.* London, 1922.

Ross, John—*Corea, its History, Manners and Customs.* London, 1891.

Schmidt, Robert—*Chinesische Keramik von der Han-Zeit bis zum XIX Jahrhundert.* Frankfurt, 1924.

Japanese Books

[Note: This bibliography, chronologically arranged is not meant to be exhaustive, but all important literatures are included.]

Riōke Hakubutsukwan Shozōhin Shashinjō (Pictorical Album of the Collection of the Prince Ri Household Museum). First edition two volumes, 1912. Second volume, Korean Ceramics. Second enlarged edition, three volumes, 1918. Published by the Museum, Keishu.

Chōsen Koseki Zufu (Pictorical Album of Ancient Remains of Chōsen). Volume III, Shiragi wares and tiles. Korean Government General, Keishu.

Shirakaba (a monthly magazine). XIII: 9, 1922, pp. 90. On Richō wares: A collection of essays by Brothers Asakawa, M. Yanagi and K. Tomimoto, with illustrations. Published by Shirakaba Society, Tōkyō.

Chōsen to sono Geijitsu (Korea and her arts with illustrations). M. Yanagi. Published by Sōbunkaku, Tōkyō, 1922.

Kokka: Articles on Korean pottery by S. Okuda, with illustrations. No. 381, February, 1922; No. 382, March, 1922; No. 384, May, 1922; No. 385, June, 1922; No. 387. August, 1922; No. 389, October, 1922; No. 391, December, 1922; No. 392, January, 1923; No. 393, February, 1923. Published by Shimbi Shoin, Tōkyō.

Atelier (a monthly magazine). Visiting Old Korean Kilns, T. Asakawa. II: 4, 1925, pp. 130–139; II: 5, 1925, pp. 128–139. Published by Atelier Sha, Tōkyō.

Kōrai Kotoji Ko (On the Old Korai Ceramics). Dr. M. Nakawo, pp. 40, with illustrations. Privately printed 1925.

Shiragi Kogafu (a portfolio of Shiragi tiles in the collection of Mr. Y. Moroga). Volume I, 1925. Published by Keishū Koseki Hozonkwai, Keishu, Korea.

Aichi Shōkō (a Bulletin), No. 158, 1927, May, pp. 1–44. On Mishima ware of Keiryūzan by T. Kurahashi. Published by Aichiken Shōhin Chinretsujo, Nagoya.

Daichōwa (a monthly magazine) I: 9, 1927 December, pp. 63–83. On Bun-in wares by T. Asakawa. Published by Shūnjusha, Tōkyō.

Chōsen Koseki Zufu (Pictorical Album of Ancient Remains of Chōsen). Volume VIII, Kōrai wares, pp. 3403–3772 illustrations, 1928. Published by the Korean Government General.

Keimei Kwai Kinen Kōenshū, pp. 65–108, 1928. On Korean pottery by T. Kurahashi. Privately printed, Tōkyō.

Chōsenshi Kōza, Tokubetsu Kōgi (a collection of special lectures on Korean history. a. History of Korean Art by Professor T. Sekino, pp. 1–231. b. An Outline of Korean wares by K. Kato, pp. 1–31. Published by Chōsen Shigaku Kwai, 1928, Keishu.

Koseki Chōsa Hōkokusho, Showa Ninendo (1927). On Keiryūzan ware, pp. 48 with 34 diagrams and 81 plates and maps. Published by the Korean Government General.

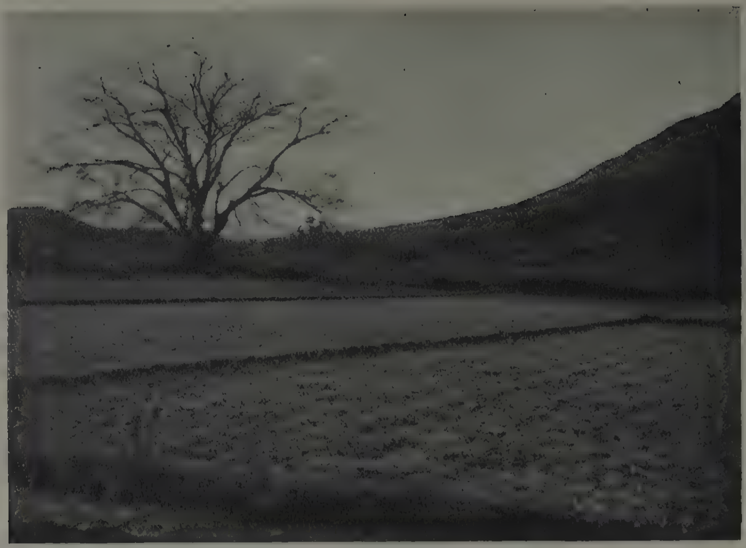


FIG. I. DOZEN-RI VILLAGE

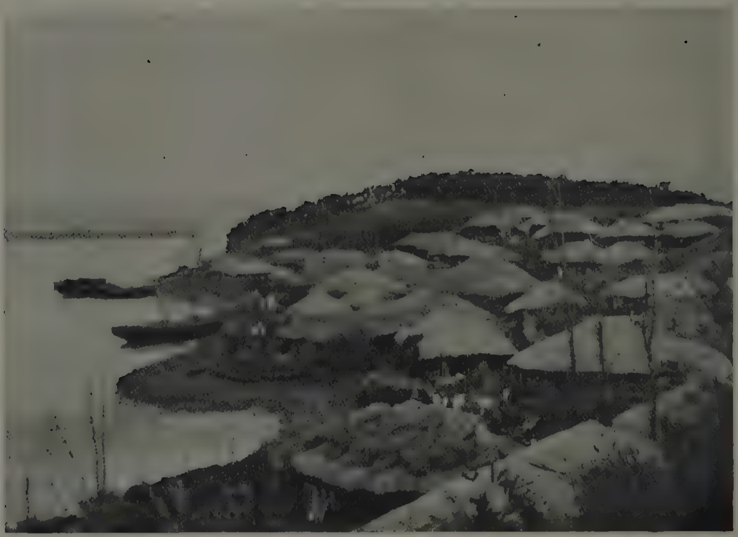


FIG. 2. THE PORT OF SHICHI-RYOJI

Plate LXXVII. *Yanagi: A Note on the Pottery Kilns of the Kōrai Dynasty*

A NOTE ON THE POTTERY KILNS OF THE KŌRAI DYNASTY

By MUNEYOSHI YANAGI

It was not until April, 1913, that the important kilns of Korean celadon were discovered by Mr. Nakajima in the Koshingun district, at the village of Taiko-men, Province of Zenra-nando. A year after their discovery they were visited by Mr. Suematsu of Prince Ri's Household Museum and his staff. Slight excavation revealed a score of kiln sites and proved that the finest examples of celadon for the tombs of Kaijo and its neighbourhood had been made in this southwest region to be fetched by sea to the capital from the little port of Shichi-ryoji (Figure 2).

The most important sites discovered are identified by the modern names of the nearby villages and hamlets indicated on the tracing of the map (Figure 3) as follows:

Dozen
Suiri-do
Bizan
Ryukokuri
Ryumon
Kido
Unkoku
Tokuden of Koyu-men
Seisanri of Koyu-men
Saten of Koyu-men
Meijuri
Sakyu at Shichiro-men
Tozokukutsu of Taiko-men
Naikeiji at Taiko-men
Seiryu at Taiko-men
Ritsuson at Taiko-men
Doko at Shichiro-men
Noso at Shichiro-men
Choho at Shichiro-men
Kinsari at Gunto-men
Heisonri at Daitoku-men
Santeiri at Daitoku-men

All the Korean wares that have been found in the graves of the Kōrai period were discovered to have been made at these kilns, including the most perfect examples of celadon, plain incised and inlaid, as well as the *mishima* and white porcelain of the early years of the succeeding dynasty of Ri.

Without exception the kilns were found to have been *nobori gama* (sloping kilns) but, unlike the old Chinese and Japanese types, the hillsides were not tunnelled to provide chambers at successive levels. The kilns were constructed on the surface up the natural slopes, except the mouths which were occasionally sunk. There seem to have been no chimneys proper, merely smoke holes left in the chambers of the upper tier. In some cases these successive chambers, built on the slope, extended to a total length of fifty-five feet. Figures A and B show the plan and elevation of the kilns at Bizan and Dozen-ri; Figure 1 shows the Dozen-ri site as it appears today. This was undoubtedly the place where the finest celadon wares were produced, those unparalleled examples which have been found in the tombs of the Royal house of Kōrai. Even today, the visitor strolling over the site may pick up bits of jewel-like glaze and the very perfection of wheel-work.

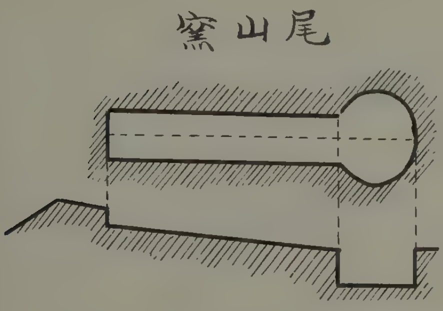


FIG. A. DIAGRAM OF BIZEN KILN

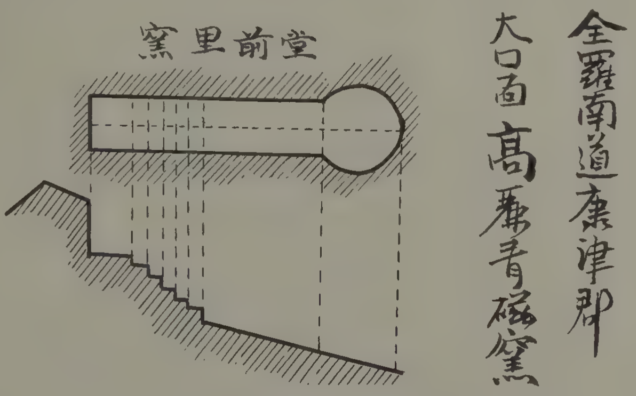


FIG. B. DIAGRAM OF DOZEN-RI KILN

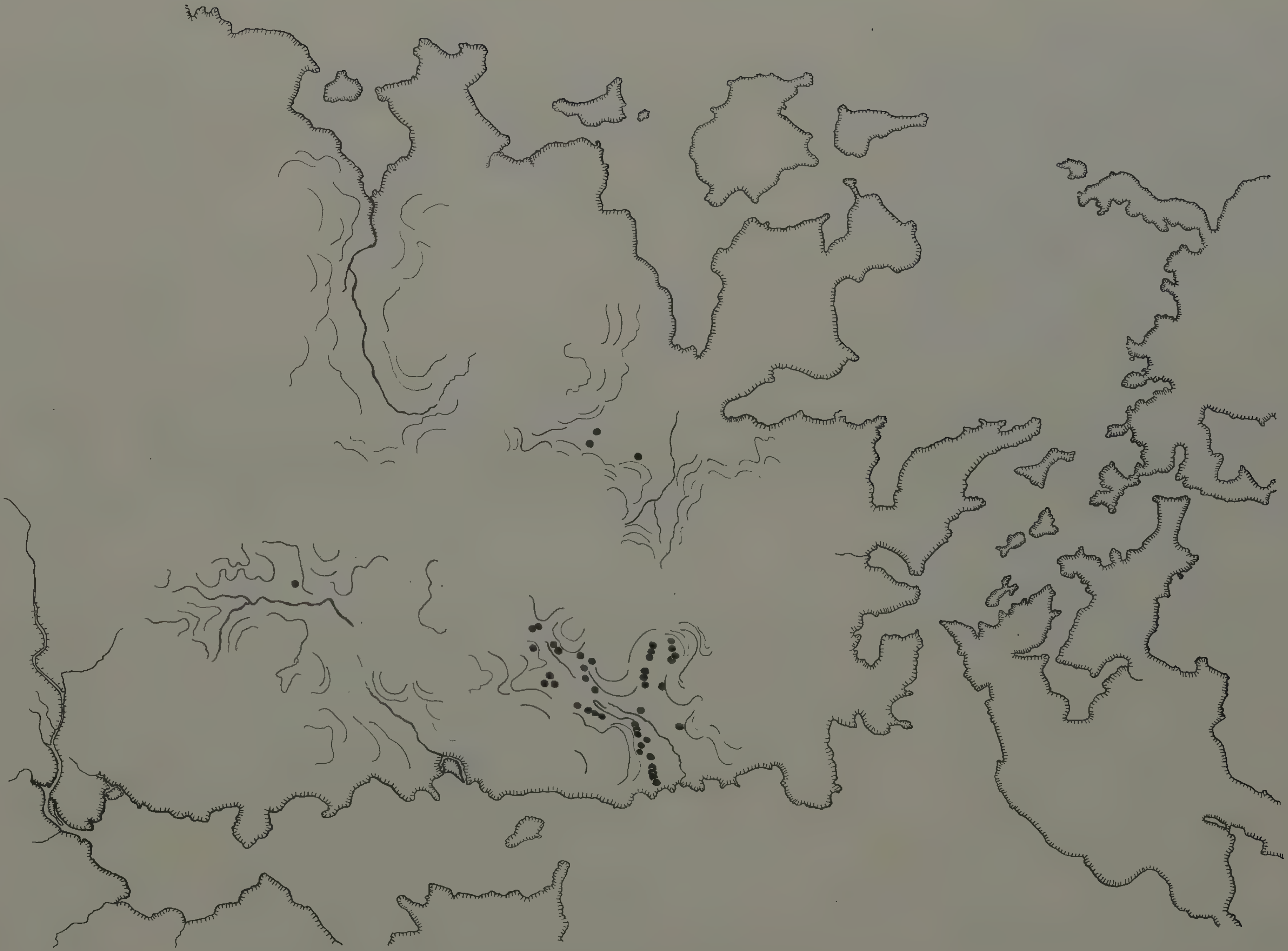


FIG. 3. MAP INDICATING KILN SITES

Plate LXXVIII. *Yanagi: A Note on the Pottery Kilns of the Kōrai Dynasty*

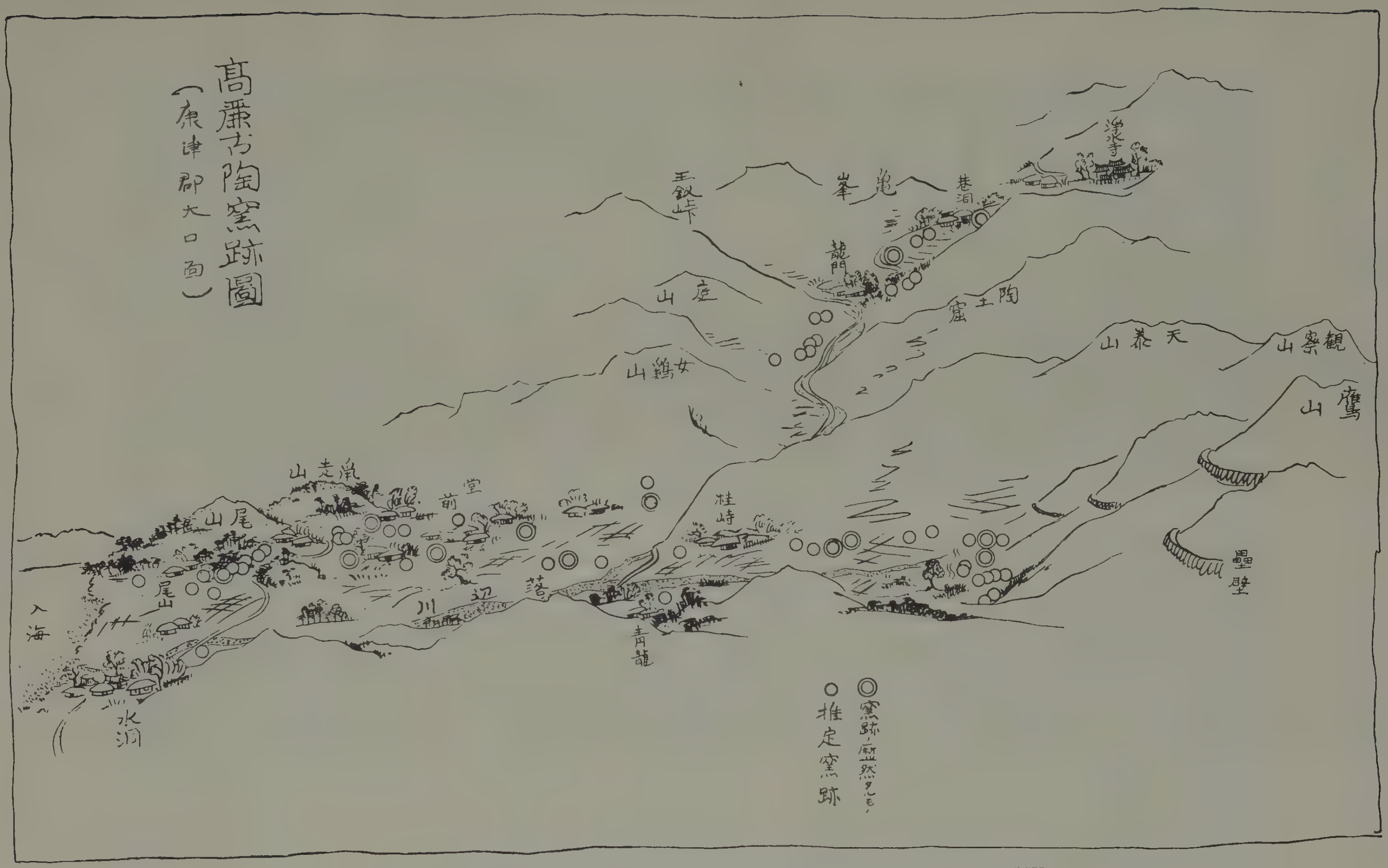

高麗古陶窯跡圖
（康津郡大口面）
王釹峠
亀峯
巷洞
淨水寺
龍門
庄山
陶土窟
女鷄山
天柰山
観察山
鷹山
壘壁
鼠走山
尾山
堂前
桂峙
落辺川
青龍
尾山
入海
水洞
◎窯跡ノ歴然タルモノ
○推定窯跡

FIG. 4. VIEW OF TAIKO-MEN VILLAGE. DOUBLE CIRCLES SHOW EXCAVATED SITES

Plate LXXIX. *Yanagi: A Note on the Pottery Kilns of the Kōrai Dynasty*

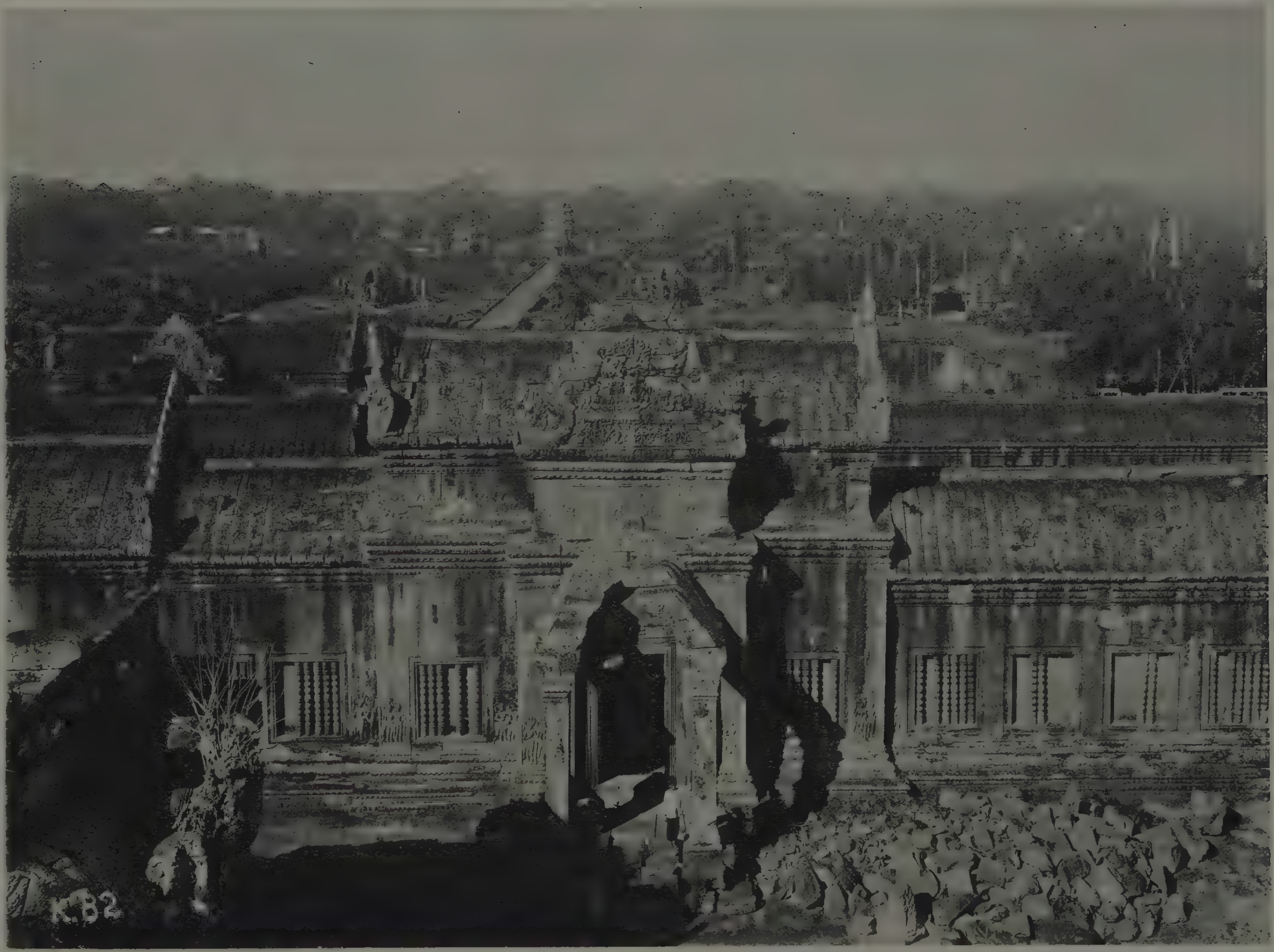


FIG. I. ANGKOR VAT, PANORAMA TOWARDS THE WEST

PLATE LXXX. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art*

CONTEMPORARY CAMBODIAN ART STUDIED IN THE LIGHT OF ITS PAST FORMS.

BY GEORGE GROSLIER

In the mixture of various forms and motives present in contemporary Cambodian art one distinguishes, as in all art, various phases. These are, in this particular field: first, forms and motives belonging to the great classic or Angkor period; these appeared during the seventh and eighth centuries and held sway without any important changes through the thirteenth and fourteenth, that is to say, during the time when the Khmer empire was at its height of greatness and prosperity; and second, the forms and motives which have been added from then on, whether these are the innovations of native artists or whether they are due to foreign influence.

Naturally these forms are not to be found lying next to one another like the pieces of a puzzle in a box, with some sharply classic in every detail, with others showing the gradual modification of a later day. A slow process of evolution has gone to make for a more intimate admixture, an admixture which became more pronounced as the art developed. And it is precisely because the art itself seems to have reached its last degree of change that an analysis of its elements will make it an interesting study. By retracing the steps of this development we shall, as it were, go over the road again and attempt to give an idea of its course.

A study of this is all the more urgent because, due to the influence of the West, modern life, and the presence of new materials, the true art of Cambodia, that art which we sense belongs to a past century, has practically ceased to exist. It has reached the point where in thirty or so years those art historians who succeed us will be able to add to our two paragraphs only a third entitled "The Disappearance of Cambodian Art under Foreign Influence." Actually, as we shall see, it is thanks to alien influence that since the fourteenth century this art has been able to live at all. We shall soon be in the presence of a new art: the art of reinforced concrete. But this art will come from a mould, and as soon as art begins to issue from a mould, it is no longer art. One can pour Notre Dame de Paris into a mould and reproduce it a hundred times, but we can not say that the French art of the twelfth and fourteenth centuries has thereby perpetuated itself.

In just the same way Cambodian art in the course of its twenty centuries duration has felt the consequences of the great events that have shaken its history. We may recognize the following epochs:

First, the native art foundation (practically unknown to us in its pure state) to which was added elements of the Chinese and the Hindu and which yielded, up to the seventh and eighth centuries, that which I call pre-Khmer art and which other archaeologists have called pre-Angkor art.

Second, from the ninth to the fourteenth century, an era during which the Khmer genius eliminated certain motives of the previous period, completely assimilated certain others and transformed them, and invented new ones. Strictly speaking it is from the Khmer art proper, this classic art, the art of Angkor, that we shall begin the present article.

Third, from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, a period of war, during which Cambodia received nothing from the outside world and was powerless to conserve its own wealth, and ceased to build in stone. Art is without force in a period when life itself is fraught with danger. Even historical accounts of this time are lacking.

Fourth, from the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, when Cambodia was under vassalage to Siam; the country was worn out by its struggles and due to the influence of the governing country, its art became Siamese. But this had a dis-

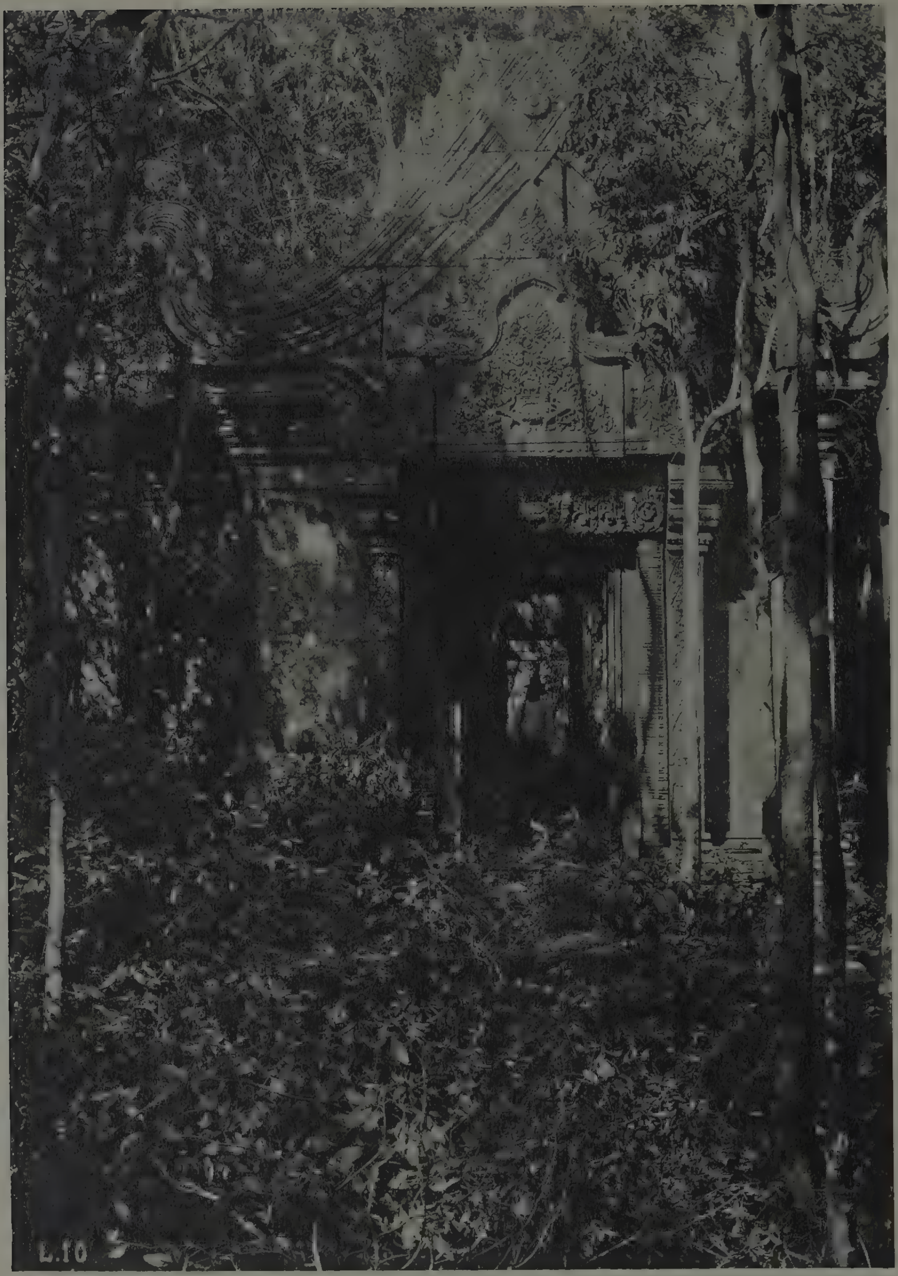


FIG. 2. PRAH VIHEAR, TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY

PLATE LXXXI. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art* astrous effect, for this same Siamese art was for a large part the classic art of Khmer imposed on Siam during the previous period. One should remember that from the tenth century to the thirteenth, Siam was under the rule of the Khmer Empire and during this period its art was irresistibly influenced by the Khmer. We can recognize a parallel instance in the art of Rome, which, after having been based on Greek art forms, three or four centuries later introduced Roman art into Greece. Thus classic Khmer art was preserved up to the end of the nineteenth century by the Siamese, although somewhat remoulded and changed; it was even slightly enriched by certain western influences, which are no more difficult to trace to the styles of Louis XIV and Louis XV than is the original Khmer base in Siamese art.

Fifth, the beginning of the twentieth century, when Cambodian art disappeared, due to the presence of western civilization in the country; it was utterly impossible for traditions to continue in the face of such a radical transformation of ideas, customs and economic life, as well as the appearance of materials and methods that European importation implied. This art which had held up and had gone through a normal process of evolution for a thousand years disappeared in the space of twenty. One could make a fascinating study of this catastrophe by pointing out the most striking examples of it and the most powerful reasons for it, but that does not fall in the scope of this article.

ARCHITECTURE

The last stone temple made of sandstone and laterite belonging to the classic period cannot have been built much later than the fourteenth century. One cannot place it as belonging to those great monuments which best illustrate Angkor art. It must belong to the little group which, modelled after the fashion of Ta Prohm of Bati, appears in the middle Cambodian period and which seems to have been later remodelled.[1]

It consists of a gallery forming a rectangular enclosure, four axial doors, a sanctuary with a fore-court and two annexed chapels. Around this whole thing there is a walled rectangle with a space between it and the temple; a monastery, built of perishable material, must have occupied this space. The temple is small, and if it appears to be a simple and an orderly affair this is not the case with the great monuments of the period such as the Prah Khan, the Bantéai Chhmar, or the Beng Méaléa[2], and others. In temples such as these one can see that the galleries, towers, principal sanctuaries and annexes were built in successive epochs, according to the needs which arose and in the places left free by former buildings.

We shall find the same sort of opportunism prevailing in the construction of the nineteenth century pagoda, with the reappearance of the prah vihear (sanctuary) and its adjuncts. First, came the pagoda itself with the cells for the monks and the hall for pilgrims; then, as the religious centre prospered, the chief of the monks had built for himself a larger house; the pilgrims' hall, now grown too small, is doubled in size. Near the pagoda one or two minor sanctuaries, where regular services are held, make their appearance. Finally, the main pagoda becoming too old or insufficient for growing needs is in turn replaced by a new one. Thus the contemporary pagoda develops along precisely the same lines as the ancient temple, and a comparative study of the two plans at an interval of eight centuries between them can help us to understand in more than one case and according to the most recent study, those enigmatic things that the older of the two conceals in its ruin.

One may very well say, however, that most of the ancient temples were Brahmanical, while the pagoda of today is Buddhist. To discriminate between the two, particularly in an ancient temple, would be virtually impossible. Proofs abound of

---

[1] See my monograph, *Arts et Archéologie Khmèrs.* Société d'Editions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, Vol. I, Paris.

[2] Cf. *Inventaire descriptif des Monuments du Cambodge*, Lunet de Lajonquière. Published by L'École Française d'Extrême Orient.

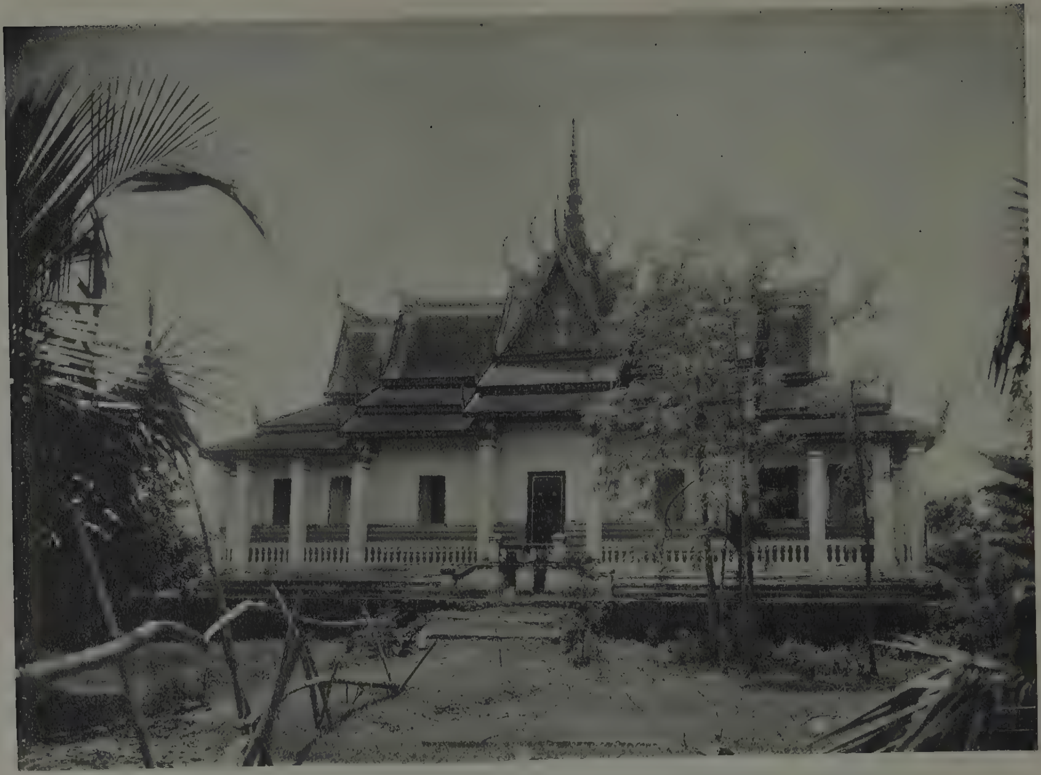


FIG. 3. PAGODA OF MEAN DAP, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

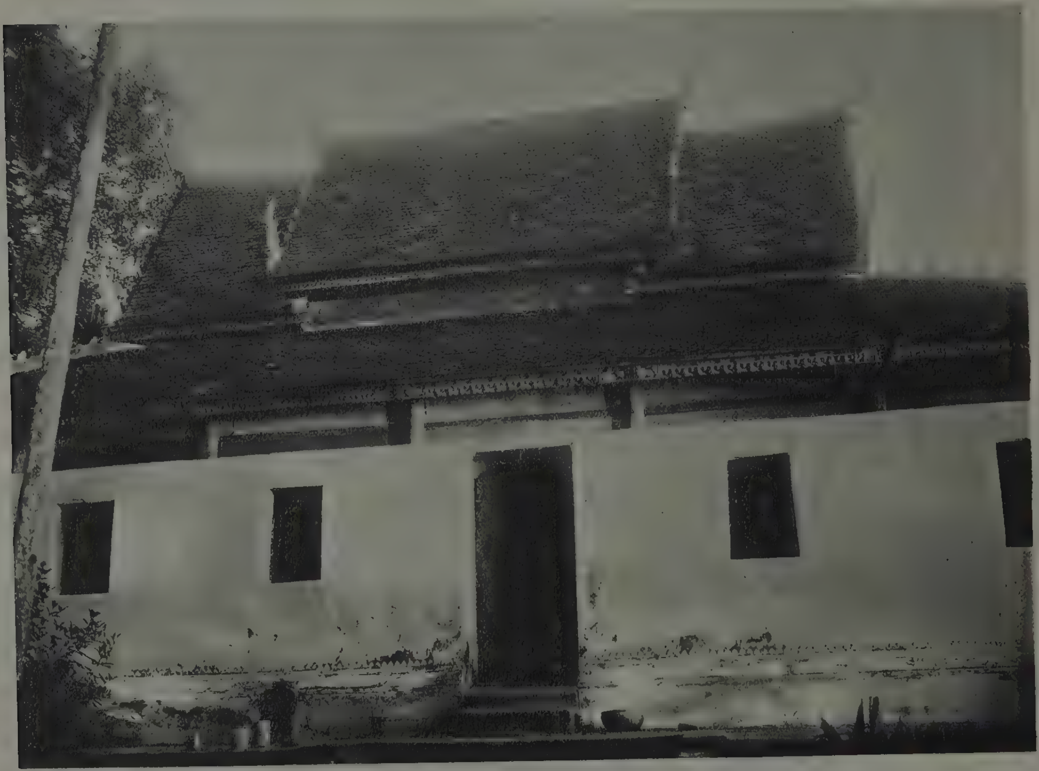


FIG. 4. PAGODA OF ROKA KANDAL, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PLATE LXXXII. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art* the attempts to unite the two religions; there are sanctuaries that successively affected Brahmanism and Buddhism, inscriptions that celebrated simultaneously the raising of a Brahmanical and a Buddhist statue in the same sanctuary. The Angkor Vat, Vaishnaite by origin, appears none the less Buddhist after five hundred years; even now, it is filled with statues of Buddha and has two large monasteries on its grounds. Equally, in most of the contemporary pagodas, Brahmanical statues are found next to those of Buddha, and six out of ten of them have on the front, as the principal motive, Indra on the three-headed elephant just as in the temple of Vat Phu dedicated to Siva during the classic period. Or Vishnu is found riding on a garuda, while the representation of Buddha is very rare; indeed, I know of only five examples.

If we pass from the original founding of these temples to the actual plan of each, we can see that the remembrance of former buildings has not been lost, and each time it can be put to use in the new construction itself. The tower has disappeared, but later we find it becoming the finial of the pagoda. The sanctuary below the tower in the form of a square or cross has also gone, but if we compare the temporary pagoda to the ancient sanctuaries unsurmounted by a tower, the successive plans seem, in a sense, to have been superimposed and thus is proven the perennial nature of the following principle: a nave flanked by two half naves is equal in size to a part of the nave. Today, as in the past, these naves and half naves are sometimes on columns only, sometimes on a wall and on columns; the length of the building is for most part twice as long as it is broad; finally, in both plans, the edifice rests on a sub-base, just as a statue is set on a base.[3] Naturally the plan for a wooden building is on a larger scale than that of a stone building, since it is not so cumbered by supports, because the lower members allow in wood a firmer basis. But the spirit of the thing has not changed, and we shall see that in spite of the difference in material, little has been modified so far as the forms themselves are concerned.

The offset of the vault is one of the most vital characteristics of the architecture of the classical period; it is the thing that, with its tympanum, gives it originality. Photography has made all too common these galleries that have somewhat the appearance of a telescope with its members partly closed. The space taken up by the smallest vault, which seems to issue from the larger, is masked by a decorative band. This band is formed by the undulating body of a *naga*, the multiple heads of which rear themselves on either side, and whose body, all along the length of the arc that it describes, bears coping of sculptured flames. Finally, the whole terminal gallery has its intrados hidden by a sculptured tympanum, itself surrounded by a *naga*. Figure 1 gives examples of all these combinations in the case of galleries vaulted entirely in stone.

There are, however, a number of galleries, dating from the tenth to the twelfth century, that, instead of having a stone vault, had a framework of wood covered with tile forming a triangular roof with two slopes. The undulating bands and the tympanum are again found just as regularly as under the previous system, but here they are rectilinear and triangular. The same principle is rigidly adhered to, though it is adapted simply to two different forms. One can even see in Figure 2 that an undulating tympanum fits into a triangular one and here we have the simultaneous appearance of the two combinations.

Far better than a long dissertation on the subject is a comparison of the foregoing illustrations with Figures 3, 4 and 5, in which one can see the roofing of contemporary buildings; these show the close identity existing between the past and the present, even to the offset of the roofs, with bands hiding these offsets and a sculptured tympanum on the pinions surrounding the former band. And, as before, this band is the body of a flaming *naga*, raising a head on either side. A single new element appears, and that is the antifix of the ridge pole, reflexed and apparently beating

---

[3] See the comparison of the proportions of the gallery at Angkor Vat with those of a contemporary pagoda, *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, p. 193, etc., Groslier, Paris, Challamel, 1921.

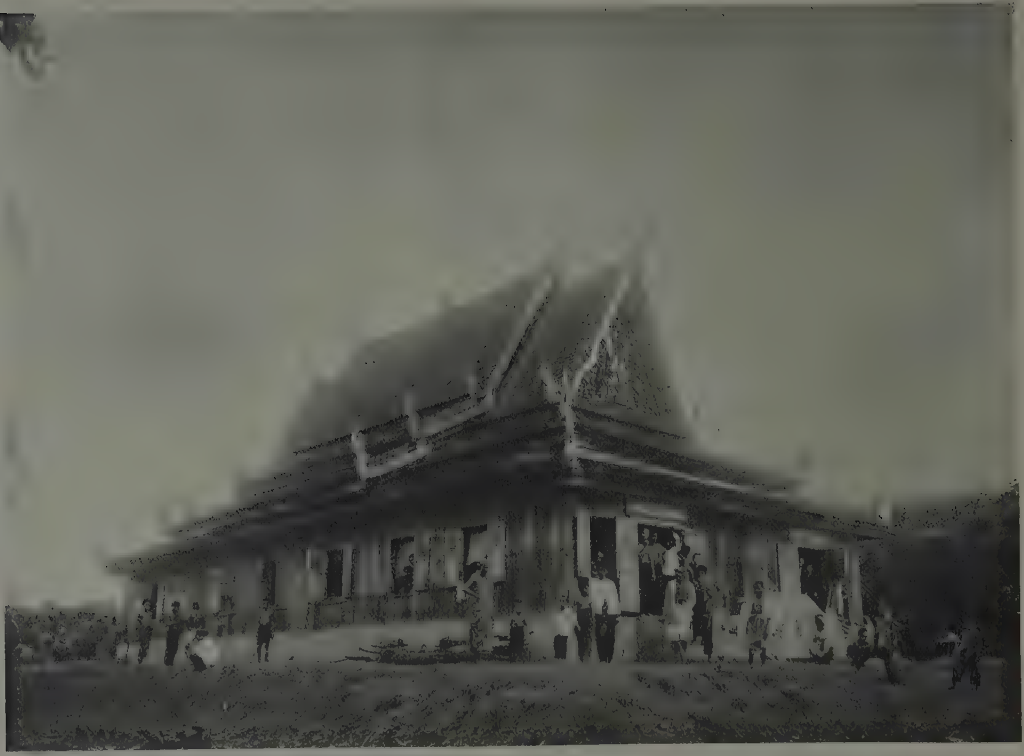


FIG. 5. PAGODA OF KOMPONG CHANGLOK, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

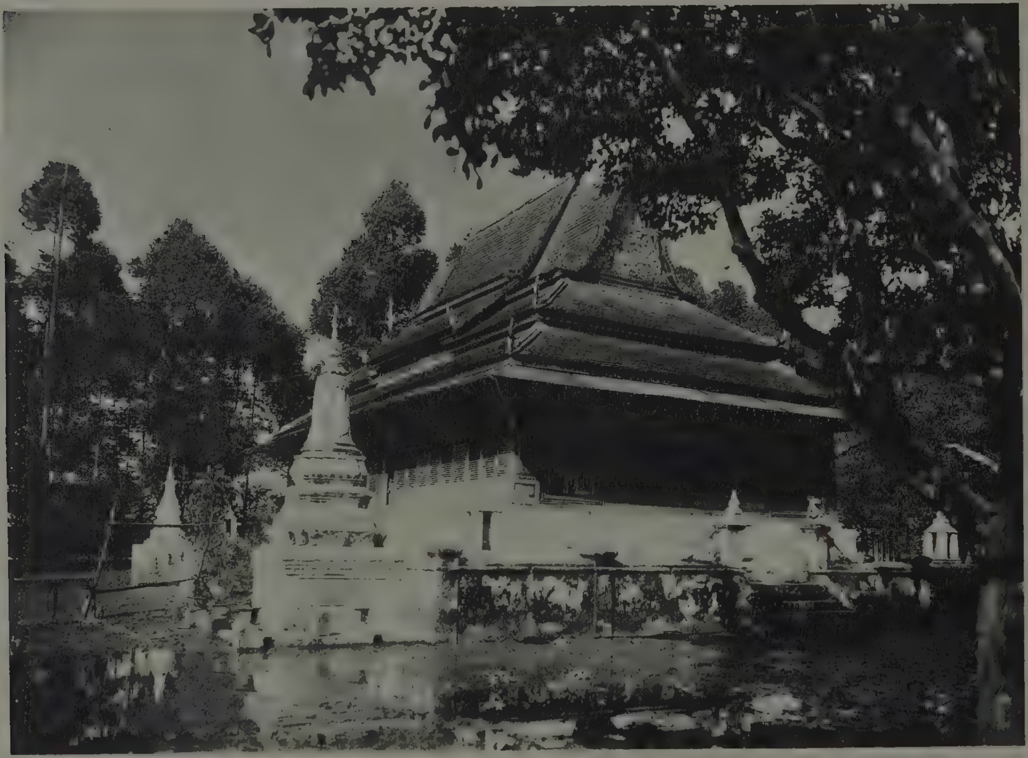
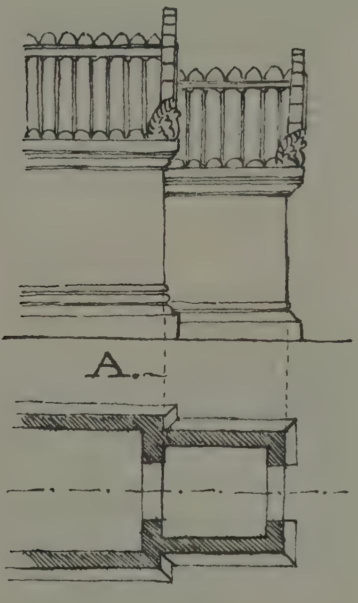


FIG. 6. PAGODA OF CHRUÏ AMPIL THMEY, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

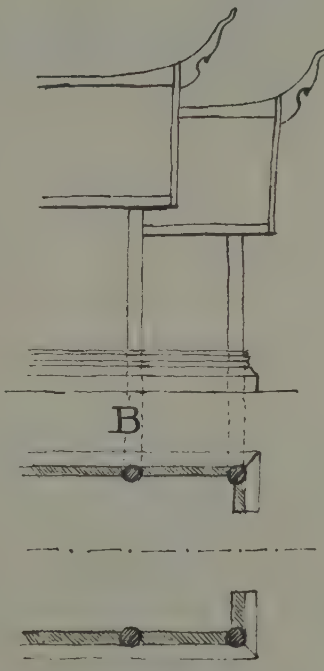
PLATE LXXXIII. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art* the air. Thus it is that the modern mode of decorations has shown the tail of the serpent, a thing which work in stone did not permit. It is this form that most travellers take for an elephant's trunk. It is true that one can so easily mistake it.

If this motive is a recent adaptation for the ridge poles of roofs, its form is as old as the classic Khmer art; everywhere a complete *naga* is found—either on a bas-relief or forming a balustrade—the tail is treated just as it appears on the roofs of today. It may be, indeed, that this development is traceable to Siamese influence of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries or earlier. In any case it is a very happy idea and gives to the roofing a spirit and a lightness that is incomparable.

It is interesting to observe that the offset of the roofs gave the ancient temples such an unforgetable appearance that it is noticeable even today in spite of a radical change in the supports. In the ancient temple the offset of the arches always corresponds to a reduction of plan and the resting place of the arch being slightly smaller than that of the arch in which it is enclosed, the corresponding galleries are not of the same size (Figures A and B). On the other hand, in contemporary construction in wood, the two roofs are rigorously alike, demanding no change of plan. Their removal is strictly vertical (Figure B). We have here, then, a tradition maintained in spite of a complete change of material and through a totally different form of construction.



A.



B

Furthermore, those who followed the classic traditions brought about nothing new. On the bas-reliefs at Bayon we find a few models of little wooden houses, with roofs offset as in Figure B.[4] If we recognize rightly (without going any further) that everything executed in stone is unusual and illogical, and difficulties and complications lie in the way of its completion, then we can more clearly understand that working in wood adapts itself easily to many forms; wherefore one may assume from these earlier wooden structures that stone monuments were copied from them—structures were they whose vague outline was already fixed in the minds of the builders of Angkor. Thus the contemporary pagoda does not perpetuate the architectural type in the sandstone of the classic period, but it does show us a type much more ancient, and conversely, the Angkor architects for a time copies the wooden roof construction that we find being, today, built in Cambodia.

---

[4] Cf. *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, Fig. 150, p. 288, etc.

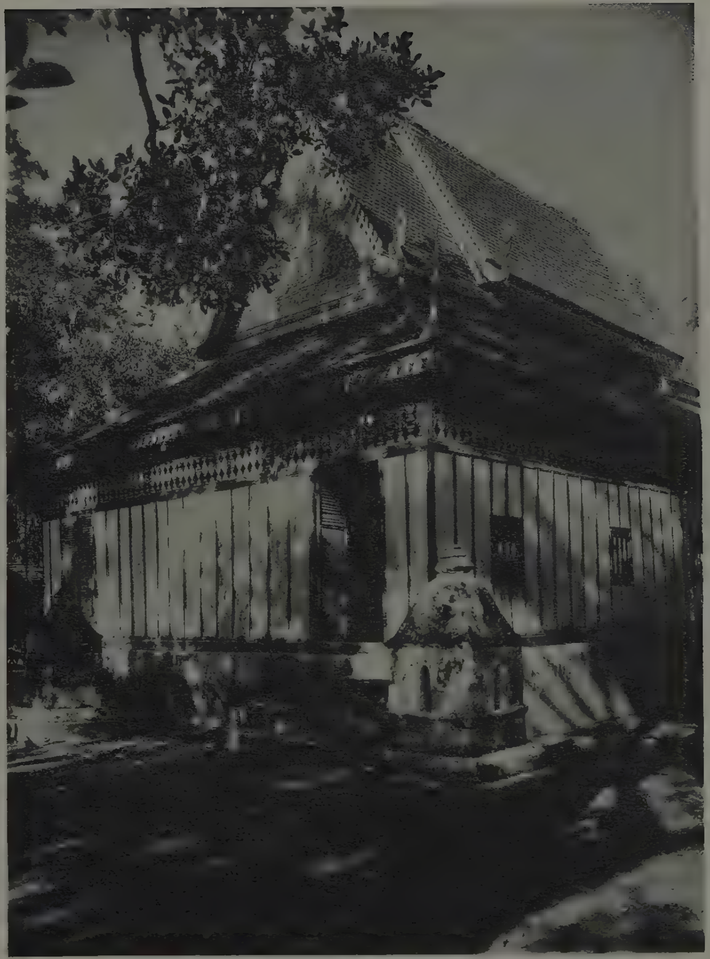


FIG. 7. PAGODA OF TA PREY, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

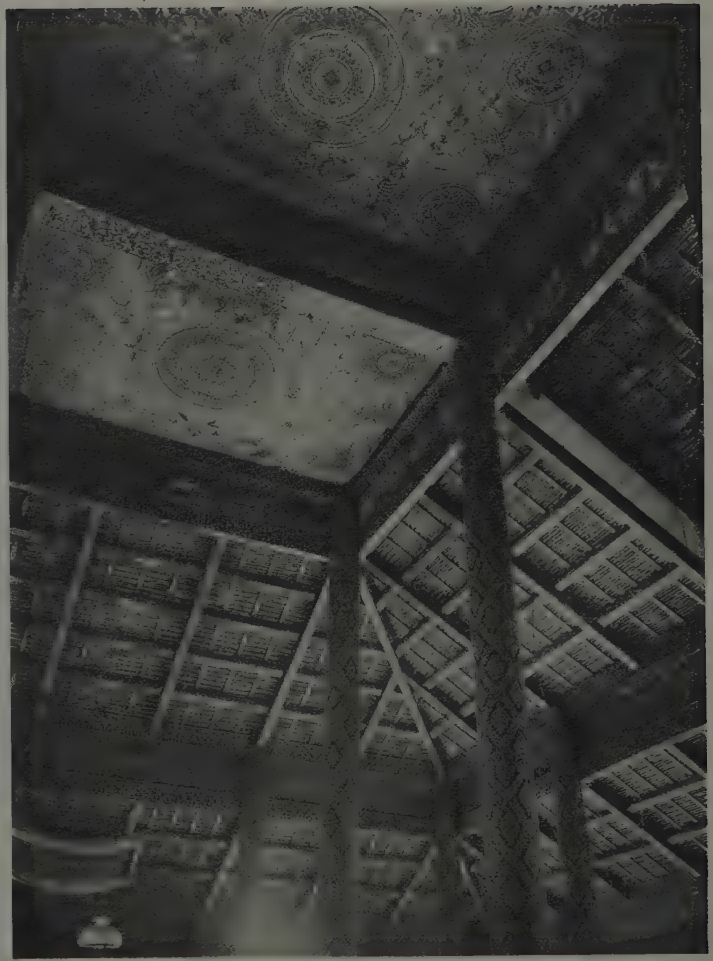


FIG. 8. PAGODA OF MOHA LEAP, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

PLATE LXXXIV. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art*

Furthermore, it is curious to note that in 1929 Cambodian monasteries once again gave up wood for reinforced concrete, a step quite parallel to that their ancestors had taken before them. Incapable of conceiving new forms or of accepting those required by reinforced concrete, they made the stupid mistake of simply copying the wooden model. I do not believe that the history of art in any country can exemplify, in a span of ten centuries, such stubbornness, such blind adherence to unchangeable forms. Here more than anywhere else it is truly "les morts commandent aux vivants."

Naturally, in spite of their wish and eager as they were to remain faithful to the wooden outlines, nevertheless, the ancient Cambodians could not reproduce all the varieties that had abounded in the field of wood construction. Their bas-reliefs, however, do give us a certain number of them that we can locate once more in the work of today.[5] And that is how, in spite of the decadence of the country, that one can account for the religious architecture being much richer and more varied than the type which in former days actually gave Cambodia its reputation. We show in Figures 3, 5 and 6 the different types whose elements and combinations, as we have already said, are to be found on the bas-reliefs of the Bayon of Angkor Thom.

If we look at Figure 7 we can see under the eaves of the roof a frieze running around the whole building. The regular piercing of the wood suggests the idea of a cloister, and here again I seem to see what corresponds in our day to horizontal windows, not "practical" windows, but openings out of reach, such as are found in certain ancient monuments and which are, as in the example I have given, flanked by little columns.[6]

We know that within the vaults of the stone buildings the vaulting inside was concealed by a wooden ceiling. These ceilings were sculptured and painted just as were all the exposed beams. We can see by Figure 8 that nothing that was done in the past has been lost in the construction of the present.

It only remains for us, in disposing of the principal architectural points, to glance at the feature which distinguishes the great pagodas of today, namely, the finial spire. This very evidently corresponds to the ancient tower. In former days there were two types of towers. The isolated tower, with or without a forecourt and the tower raised on an offset of galleries. The finial spire actually corresponds to this latter type. It is never isolated and always stands on an offset of the roofs.

Figure 9 shows the façade of Le Musée Albert Sarraut at Phnom Penh and exemplifies the purest of the two types of spires known to us today. The central spire, probably Siamese, if it has kept its divisions into the receding stepped stages of the ancient towers with antifixes, offers a concave and pointed profile that is wholly different. But it is enough, however, to glance at the two lateral spires to recognize therein the old stone tower.

I have just written that the central spire was probably Siamese in origin. But the principal of having roofs in four graded stages, superimposed like goblets one within the other, is a principle already present in the bas-reliefs of Bayon. The Siamese applied the principle with lightness and grace just as they always treated the vigorous forms inherited by them from the Khmers. Today we find them applied to the Cambodian crematory ovens just as they appear on the bas-reliefs.[7]

DECORATION

In the course of the rapid examination which we have just made of the architectural forms, we have already noted that the distribution of the decorative sculpture in the ancient temple was the same as in that of the pagoda of the twentieth century;

---

[5] See *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, Chapter 22; "Buildings as seen in the Bas-reliefs."

[6] See an example of these horizontal windows in *Recherches sur les* Cambodgiens, Plate XXII, B.

[7] See *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*. The roofing represented on a bas-relief of Bayon: Fig. 159 and the photograph of an actual crematory furnace, Plate XLVI, C.

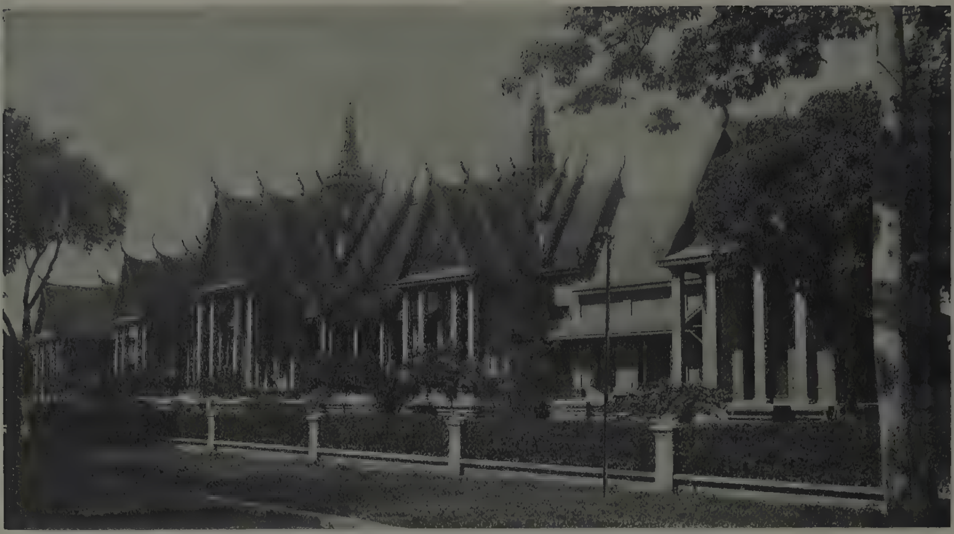


FIG. 9. ALBERT SARRAUT MUSEUM, PHNOM PENH

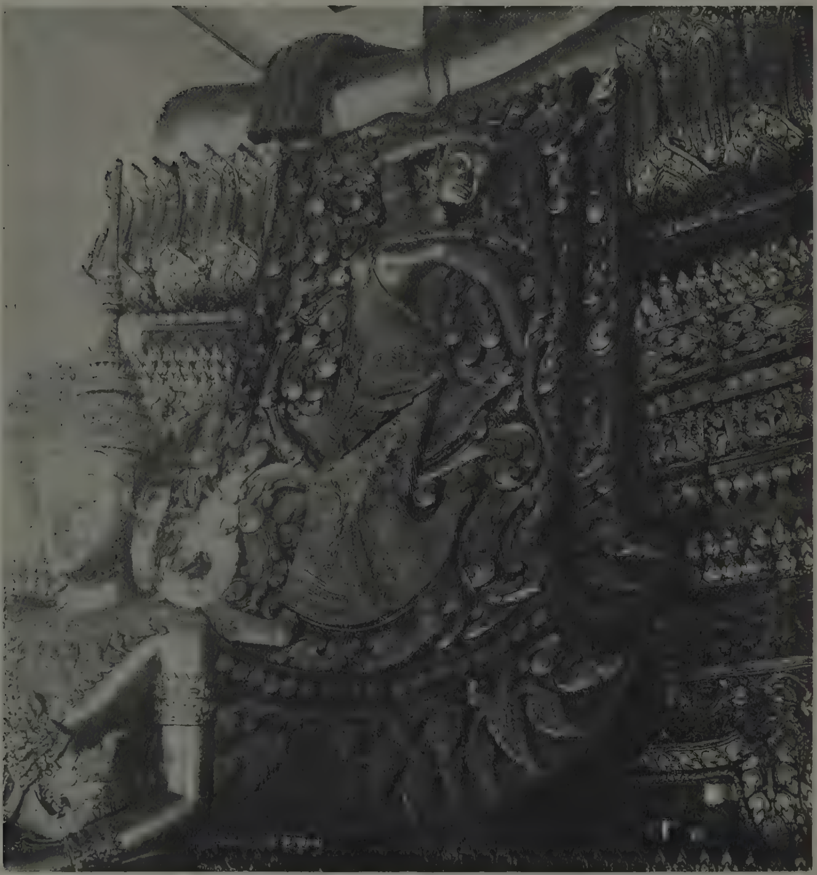


FIG. 10. VAT SANGKÉ, END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

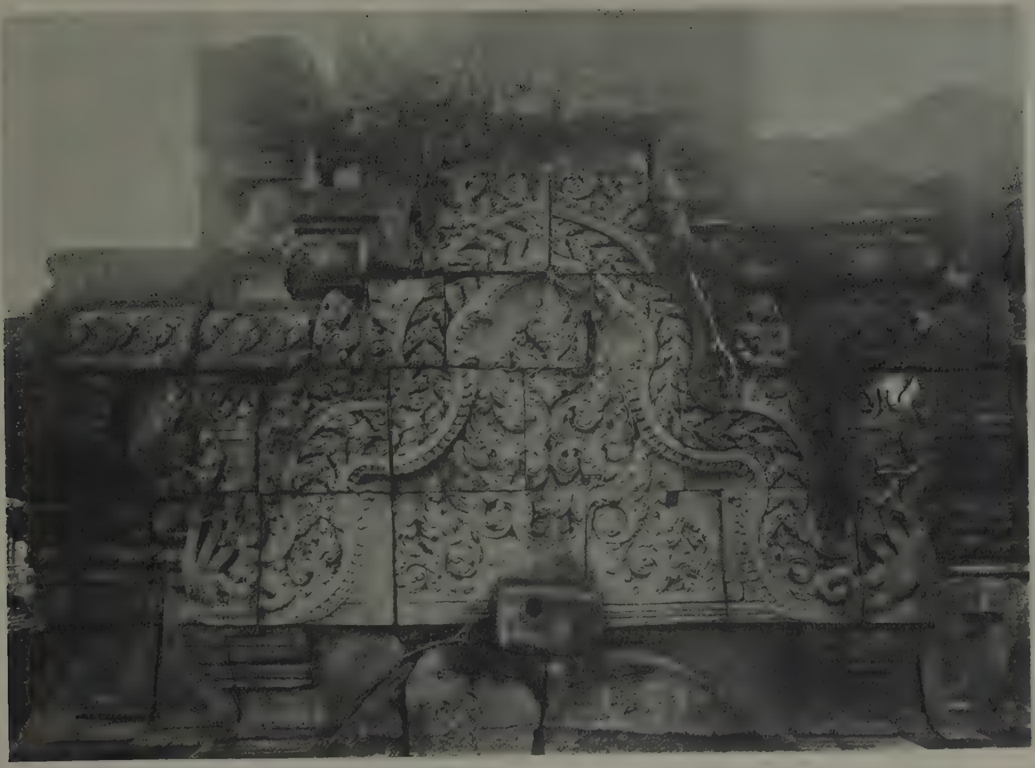


FIG. 11. ANGKOR, SCULPTURED PEDIMENT, TENTH TO TWELFTH CENTURY

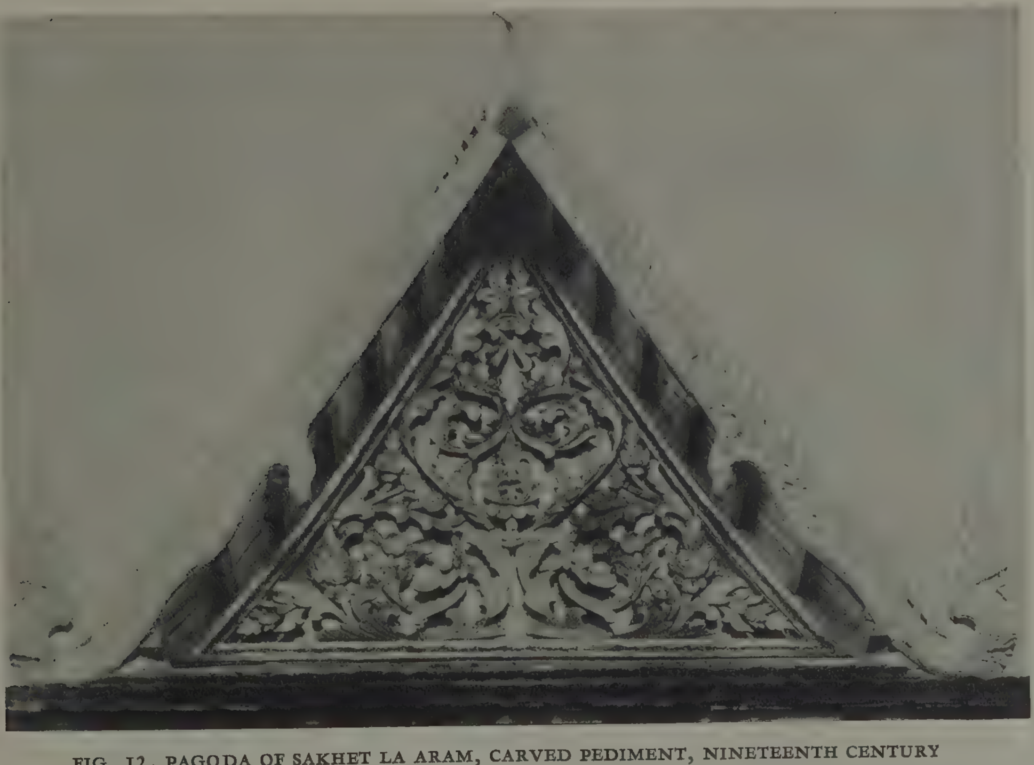


FIG. 12. PAGODA OF SAKHET LA ARAM, CARVED PEDIMENT, NINETEENTH CENTURY

PLATE LXXXVI. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art*

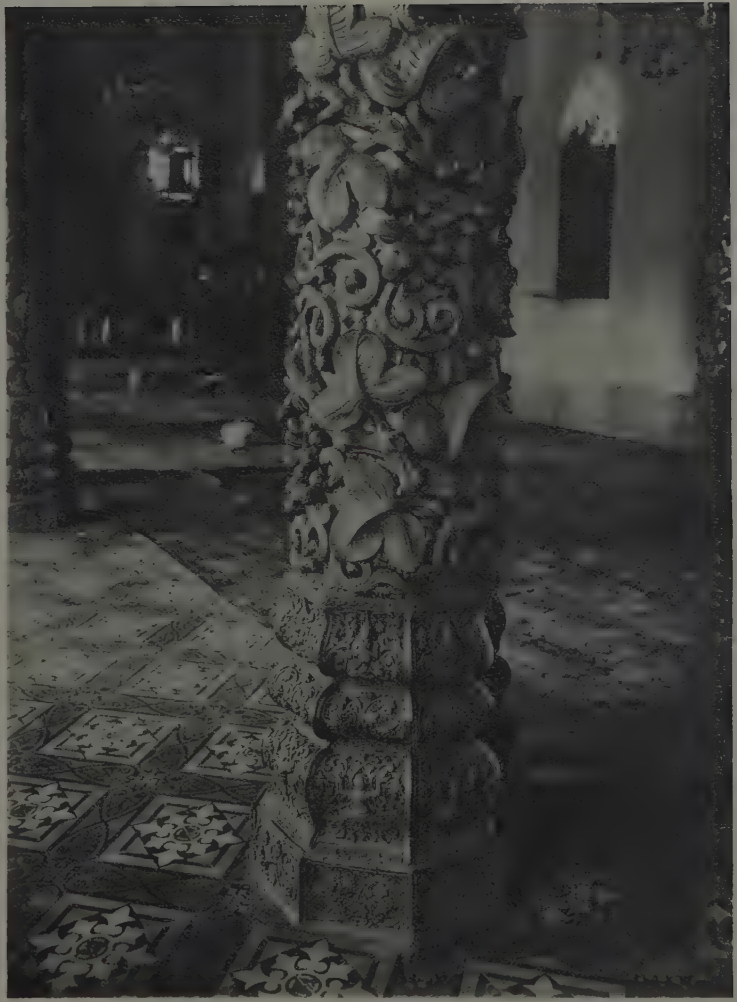


FIG. 13. PAGODA OF DAMREI SAR, COLUMN WITH VINE DECORATION

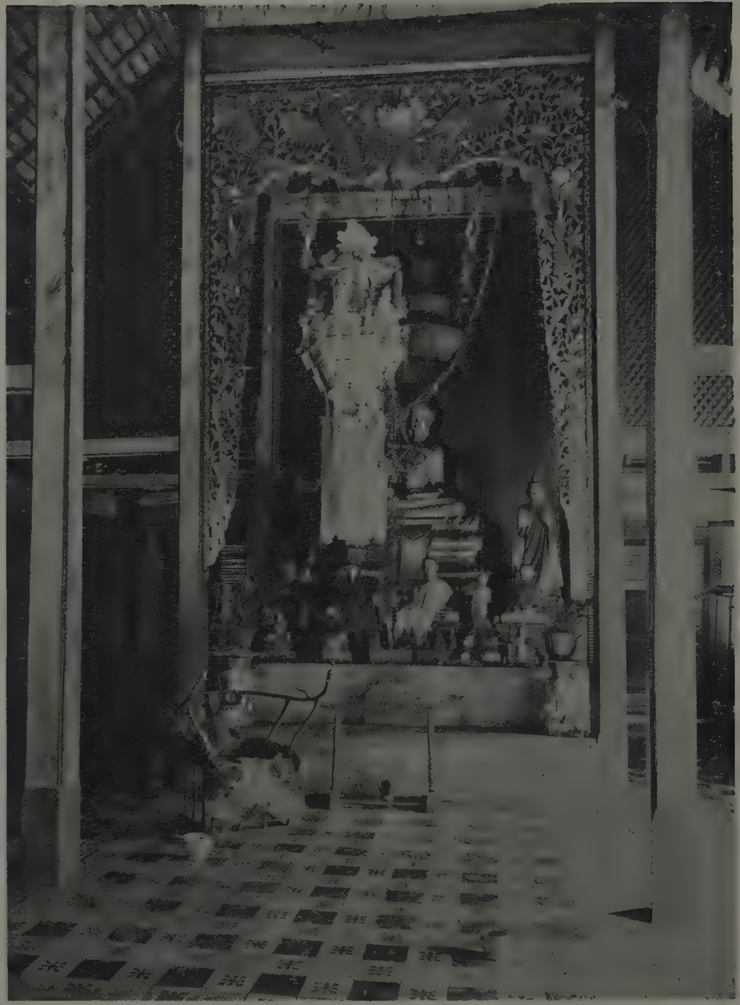


FIG. 14. ALTAR OF THE PAGODA OF CHRUÏ AMPIL THMEY, NINETEENTH CENTURY

PLATE LXXXVII. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art* pediments and string-courses; ceilings and visible wooden beams. A few examples taken from a score or more will convince us that in its internal composition and often in its appearance, the decoration of today reminds us of Angkor art.

In the first place, we find as in Figure 10, that the decoration in certain pagodas is copied purely and simply from the decoration of the classic period. The figure of the goddess Earth that decorates the pedestal of a seated Buddha (a figure that I do not recall ever having seen in classic art) is surrounded with foliage that might well have come from some temple at Angkor. This imitation is perhaps only of secondary interest, yet it proves none the less that remembrances of the past came spontaneously to the decorator when he combined it with a wholly recent conception. What is more, the execution itself shows that the same sculptor inherited the manual skill of his ancestors.

The string-course of the pediment is triangular, with the same subject, that is, the *naga*, that appears in the curvilinear string-course of the classic period. Yet if it is described in a triangle (that follows the shape of the roof) we may note, nevertheless, that in its lower elements it has kept the curved treatment of an earlier epoch.

The treatment of the decoration in the contemporary pediment is invariable: a central motive: a fan, an offertory plate, or the royal arms; or a god—either Vishnu or Indra—on a pedestal or astride their favorite steeds, one being a garuda, the other the three-headed elephant; or finally representations of legendary persons such as a fight between two monkeys or two giants; Sita carried off by Hunuman, and so on.

Around this central subject that is usually fairly large the rest of the pediment is filled with foliage or flames symmetrically arranged about the vertical axis of the pediment. But if one were to try to number all the classic pediments thus composed with the same motives and the same disposition, it would be distinctly difficult.

Nevertheless, a profound difference distinguishes the two arts. If the foliage and its disposition remain intact in spirit, the motives are totally different so far as their form is concerned. The ribbon-like foliage with its classic crooks has given way to a floral, leafy foliage. And just as I do not know of a single example of the second type in monuments prior to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, no more can I cite a single reproduction of the early type in contemporary buildings. Figures 11 and 12 illustrate these two types of foliage.

I should like to trace the cause of this change to Siamese influence, but this influence was waning and was itself already becoming subject to the European influence of the styles of Louis XIV and Louis XV.

We know that diplomatic relations between France and Siam began during the reign of Louis XIV and were continued from then on, and that later, commerce was developed by the Compagnie des Indes with the Indies and the Far East, as is proven by the presence in the Indies of numerous articles of furniture belonging to the periods of Louis XV and Louis XVI. In this way we may be sure that European chairs, mirrors, tables and so forth, arrived at the Siamese court from the Cambodian court. There is, it is to be noted, at the royal palace of Phnom Penh, a console in the purest Louis XIV style.

How is this furniture decorated? In the first place it is of wood and the pieces are heavily carved and gilded. Carving and wood gilding for ten centuries took up most of the time of the Siamese and Cambodians. Next, what are the essential characteristics of the French decoration in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? foliage, birds, shells, ancons and leaves, all familiar motives in classic Khmer art. The sculptors of the Far East in the imported work of other countries found new variants of principles and forms that were already familiar to them and were expressed in an

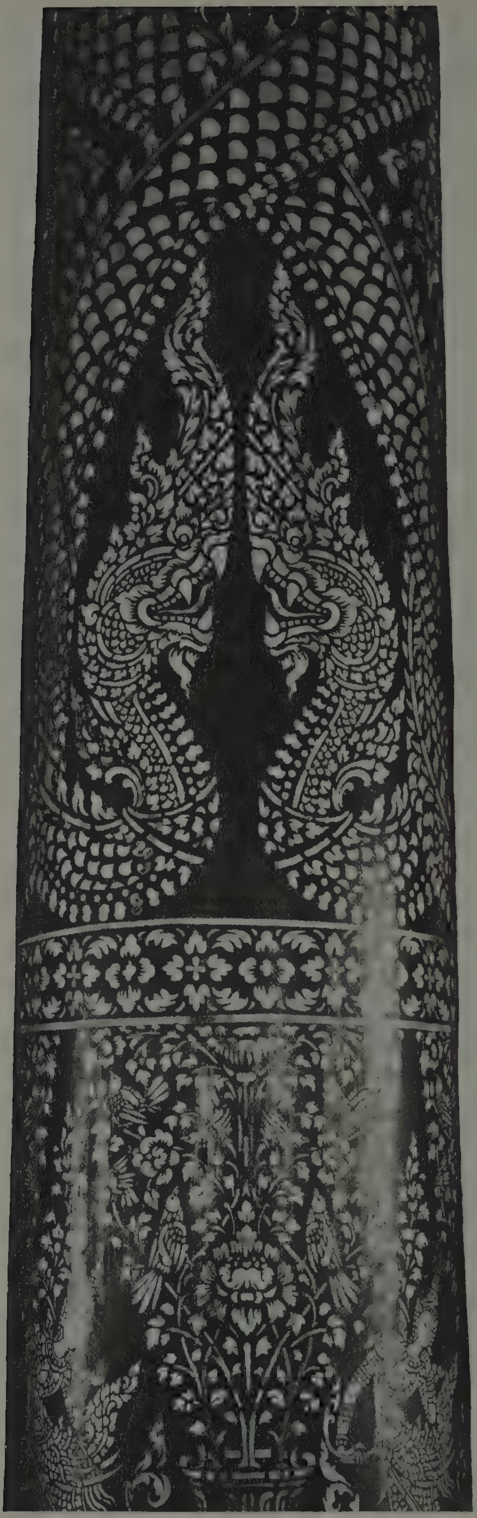


FIG. 15. PILLAR IN PAGODA OF MOHA LEAP
NINETEENTH CENTURY

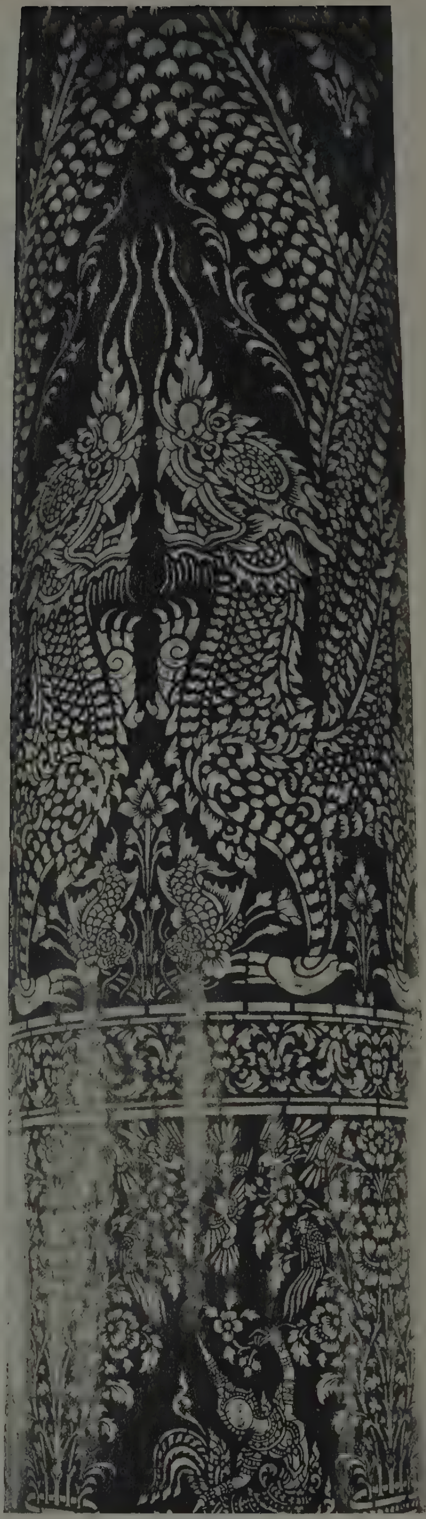


FIG. 16. ANOTHER PILLAR IN THE
SAME PAGODA

PLATE LXXXVIII. *Groslier: Contemporary Cambodian Art* artistic language so native to their own that they could become immediately conversant with it. From that time, I believe it proper to date the appearance in Khmer sculpture of the Louis XIV rose, of the indented leaf forming a scroll in lieu of the classic Angkor crook, and of the floral type of your bird. An examination of Figures 11, 12 and 13 will dispense with an elaboration of this point. Insofar as the grapevine is concerned that is found decorating the Siamese-Cambodian pagoda at Battambang, its significance is fully appreciated when we know that in no country of the Far East has the vine ever been cultivated. In confirmation of all I have said, I would add that it was the same European influence that introduced velvet, lace, beveled mirrors, glass objects and fire arms into the Siamese and Cambodian courts, and moreover these same influences are to be found holding sway in the art of Annam, that dates from the same period.

If classic Khmer decorations bear only vague traces of Chinese influence, so localized and so unconvincing that they are hardly worth mentioning, on the other hand the decorations of the more receptive contemporary pagoda are filled with it. The Chinese hand is evident in Cambodia for over a thousand years; actually, part of the Cambodian population is half-breed; and the commercial affairs of the country are wholly in Chinese hands.

In the contemporary pagoda this ancient hybrid streak is witnessed by the superposition of purely Chinese motives, by Chinese composition that, so far as the appearance is concerned agrees, without actually intermingling with the indigenous forms. This is clearly defined in the case of the carved and gilded altar in Figure 14. There is an intimate merging of the two arts. I give a typical example of it in Figure 15 where one sees a familiar delineation of the Khmer *naga*, faultless in its proportions and in its tradition, and in Figure 16 from a pillar in the same pagoda only a few meters away, where the *naga* has now become a Chinese dragon with paws and a spined head. The Chinese dragon and the Khmer *naga*—these are two artistic conceptions as much allied to one another as the Khmer rinceaux and the foliage of Louis XIV. The mixture was inevitable, and it happened just as we see in these instances.

I have said enough for the time being. It would be easy to multiply examples but it would add nothing to the ones already given and which I have chosen as being the most important. I wished to show, in short, that contemporary Cambodian art has retained the essential elements of the art of the classic period; that these elements which are now disregarded could not have found a place in the new circumstances because of abandoning the use of stone; that most of the contemporary artistic conceptions are not derived only from classic art but actually hark back to those more ancient forms that were, during the period from the tenth to the fourteenth century merely episodic interpretations in stone of a far earlier form that has been handed down even to the twentieth century; and that, taking inspiration from its own past in the way that we have just described, Khmer art in the course of its long career has not hestitated to rejuvenate itself and to continue to evolve under Siamese, Chinese and Western influences, influences that were accepted and acceptable because they were sympathetic and because of the possessed elements of similarity. Finally, on a trunk forever sound and unchangeable, evergreen foliage has grown.

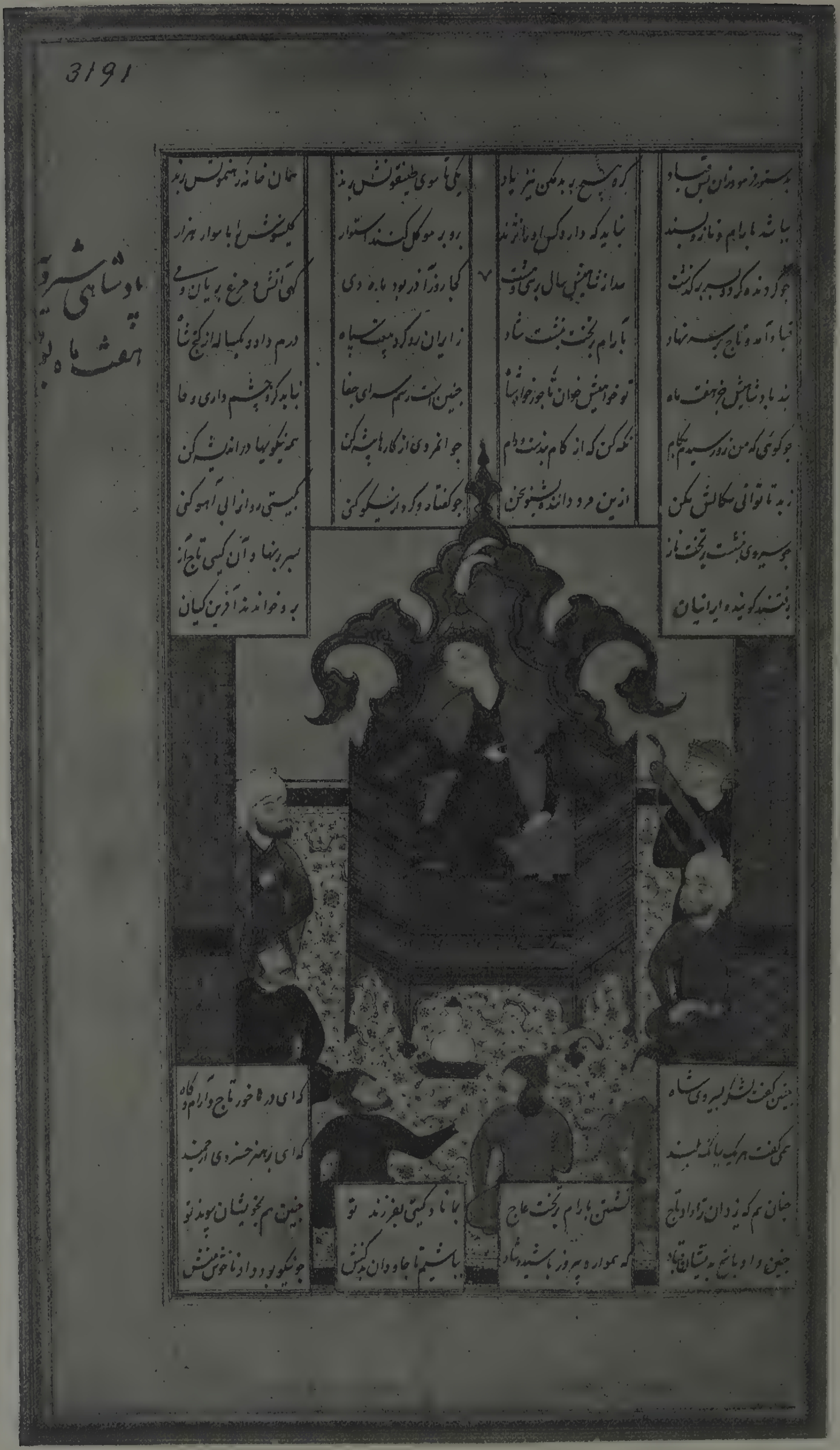


FIG. 1. A KING ON HIS THRONE. FROM AN EARLY SHĀHNĀMAH,
SAFAVID STYLE, MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

PLATE LXXXVIX. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections*

INDIAN MINIATURES IN GERMAN MUSEUMS AND PRIVATE COLLECTIONS

By HERMANN GOETZ

It is perhaps one of the most serious defects in the organization of modern scientific study that the fundamental information for research is rarely to be found systematically arranged in one place. All earnest research students must waste much initial time in gathering together their working materials from every side whither chance or special circumstances have scattered them. For this reason it is always of value to have a complete survey in any one field of study—a resumé of everything related to this field that is to be found in any private collection or museum, in any town or city, in any country. It is, therefore, my hope that the following pages will be a fit guide to a limited yet charming field of Indian art, insofar as it is represented in German collections, public and private.

There are in Germany twelve collections of Indian miniatures all together. Seven are in Berlin, three in Munich, and one each in Hamburg and in Leipsic. Some Indian miniatures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, once in the famous collection of Philip Walter Schulz of Leipsic, are still in the Leipsic Grassi-Museum. Likewise, the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe in Hamburg, in addition to its important collections of eastern Asiatic and further Indian art, possesses a few, well executed Mug͟hal paintings of the eighteenth century. The greatest number of Indian miniatures is, however, to be found in Munich in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in the Ethnographical Museum, and the collection belonging to the well-known Emil Preetorius. The latter has been exhibited in the Graphische Kabinett only a few months ago.[1]

Likewise the collections of the Ethnological Museum are fairly recent acquisitions. Brought together chiefly through the efforts of its present director, Lucian Scherman, they comprise interesting examples of the Mug͟hal School under the emperors Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb (1628–1707) from the Choiseul Collection; a series of Kāshmīrī and Rājasthāni pictures once in the possession of Messrs. Schlagintweit, the famous Indian and Central Asian explorers who acquired this series in 1880–84; a group of miniatures belonging to the Pahārī Schools of Basōhli and Kāngrā, bought in 1913 from Dr. Coomaraswamy; some masterful portraits of Sikh rājas; and, finally, a number of paintings "in little" on ivory, portraits of prominent Indian princes and ladies of the Mutiny, brought to Munich by a Bavarian member of the Catholic Mission in Patna in 1863.[2]

The illuminated manuscripts of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek comprise three Indian books: a Safavid-Mug͟hal Shāhnāmah from the early years of Akbar's rule, a Rāgmālā of the eighteenth century (once in the library of the French arabist Quatremère), and three rolls of a Mahābhārata of the early nineteenth century from Gwālior, as well as some early Arabic and a number of Persian manuscripts.

In Berlin, collections of Indian miniatures are to be found in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, in the Ethnographical and Kaiser Friedrich Museums, in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, and, in addition, in the private collections of Dr. Sarre, Mr. J. Goldschmidt and Mrs. Lene Schneider-Kainer. Lately, H. Tiedemann, dealer in old prints and books, has brought together a fine series of Indian miniatures.

In 1672 the Great Elector of Brandenburgh bought an Indian album at Amsterdam, now in the possession of the Staatsbibliothek, which was the first to come to Berlin.

---

[1] *Münchner Neueste Nachrichten*, June 10, 1929.

[2] H. Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen im Münchner Völkerkunde-Museum*, Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst XIII, No. 2, pages 61–91, 1923.

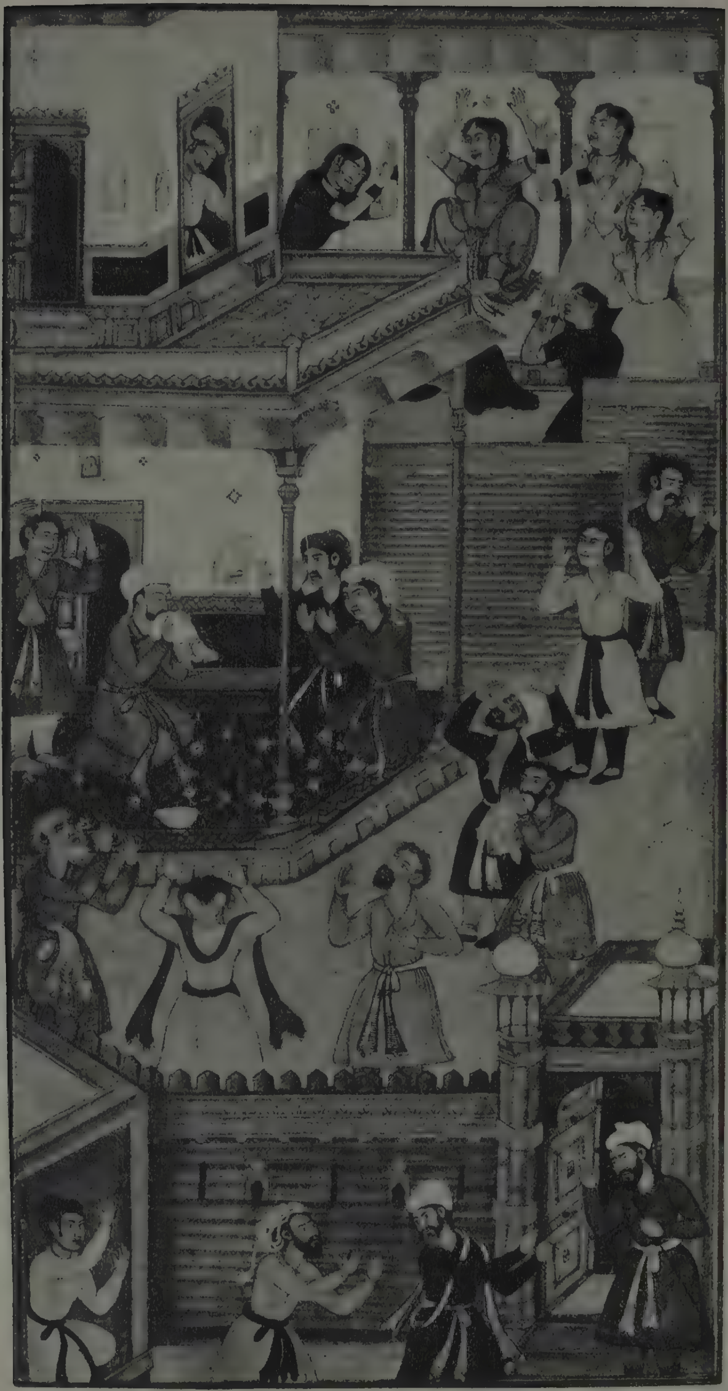


FIG. 2. MOURNING SCENE, PERHAPS FROM DŪBŪN-I NAYĀN, FROM THE TĀRĪKH-I RĀSHIDĪ
CLASSIC AKBARĪ STYLE, SECOND HALF OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

To this were added the libraries of the orientalists Diez (1817), Sprenger (1857), and Petermann (1857 and 1870). The embassy sent to Persia by Frederic William IV in 1860–61, under Baron von Minutoli and Brugsch Pascha (the famous explorer of ancient Egypt), brought back a further series of costly illuminated manuscripts. Among these was the splendid album, which had been painted for Jahāngīr (1605–1628) during the years 1608–1618;[3] this, too, has been handed over to the Staatsbibliothek. There followed in 1882 the purchase of the famous library of the Duke of Hamilton, particularly that part (once in the possession of the poet William Beckford) in which had been incorporated, apparently at Lausanne, the albums collected at Lakhnau by Major Polier, a Swiss agent of Warren Hastings. This small counterpart of the Johnson Collection in the India Office, London, has now been distributed among the Staatsbibliothek, the Kaiser Friedrich, and the Ethnographical Museums of Berlin. Later, the series acquired by the Ethnographical Museum was rounded out by the addition of a great number of miniatures of the Kāngrā and Sikh Schools, from that part of the Schlagintweit Collection which had come to Berlin, as well as by several single purchases and gifts, such as three manuscripts of the Bhāgavata-Purāna and Mahābhārata (early nineteenth century), paintings on ivory, and so forth.

The collection of Indian miniatures in the Berlin Staatliche Kunstbibliothek goes back to a gift of Baron von Lipperheide, the connoisseur and historian of ancient costumes; it was completed by the purchases of its directors, Jessen and Glaser.

Of the private collections in Berlin that of Jacob Goldschmidt forms only a little part of the various valuable collections assembled by this prominent financier. On the other hand, that of Dr. Sarre has for the most part been collected in the course of the wide travels of this well-known explorer in the fields of Islamic art. The collection of Mrs. Schneider-Kainer, comprising essentially the sketch-books of two Hindu painters, were collected during her travels in the East in the company of the famous author, Bernhard Kellermann.

These short remarks on the origin and the history of the German collections of Indian painting may suffice for a general knowledge and criticism of their character and contents. For readers in general, however, it may be of particular importance in order that a systematic survey of these many-sided and rather mixed materials may be gained. In the following paragraphs, therefore, the various styles, schools, and painters will be examined insofar as they are represented in German collections.

I. MUGHAL PAINTINGS

a. Early Mughal School (about 1500–1575)

The status of this school is ever one of the most controversional problems in the history of Indian miniature painting. My own opinion on this matter I have explained in several reviews and essays.[4] The greatest difficulty is caused by the fact that we know only a limited number of works which with certainty may be attributed to this period, though there are a great many pictures of the mid-seventeenth century affecting to be very old. On the other hand in this period the characteristic Mughal style was only in its making; of its elements we know only the Safavid one at present. Just as the "Princes of the House of Timur"[5] in the British Museum are painted in this style, so are the beginning and end of the Dārāb-Nāmah [MS Orient. 4615] whereas its central portion is apparently the early works of Mughal miniaturists of Hindu extraction.[6] Although not signed, a Shāhnāmah (Cod. pers 10) in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Fig. 1) shows quite the same

---

[3] Kühnel and Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen aus dem Jahāngīr-Album der Preussischen Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1924.

[4] *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung*, 1925, page 973; *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, 1926, page 83; and *Die Malschulen des indischen Mittelalters und die Anfänge der Moghul-Malerei*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, 1926, page 173.

[5] Binyon and Arnold, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, Plate 13, London, 1921; and *Painting of Emperors of the House of Tīmūr*, Burlington Magazine, Vol. XXXV, Page 55 ff, 1919.

[6] Goetz, *Malschulen des Indischen Mittelalters, etc.*, loc. cit.

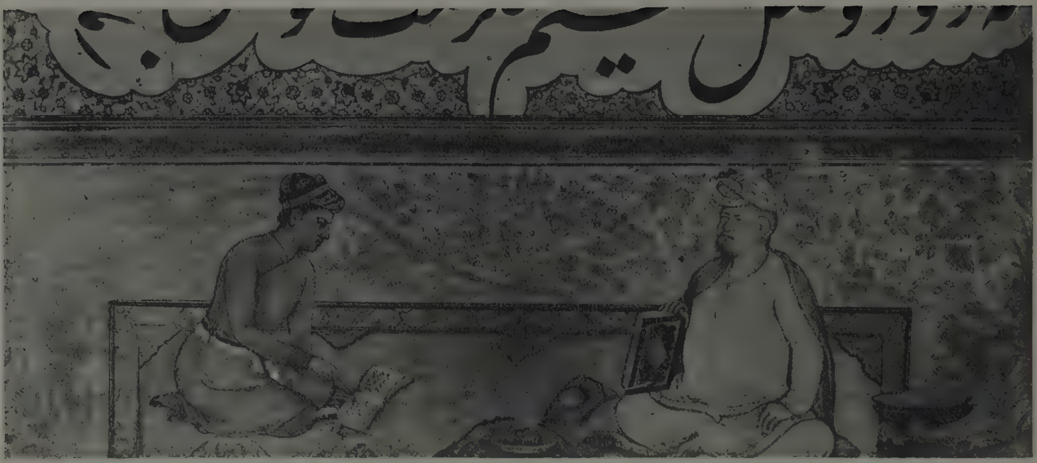


FIG. 3. SELF-PORTRAIT WITH AUTOGRAPH BY GOVARDHAN
BORDER ILLUSTRATION TO THE JAHĀNGĪR ALBUM
Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

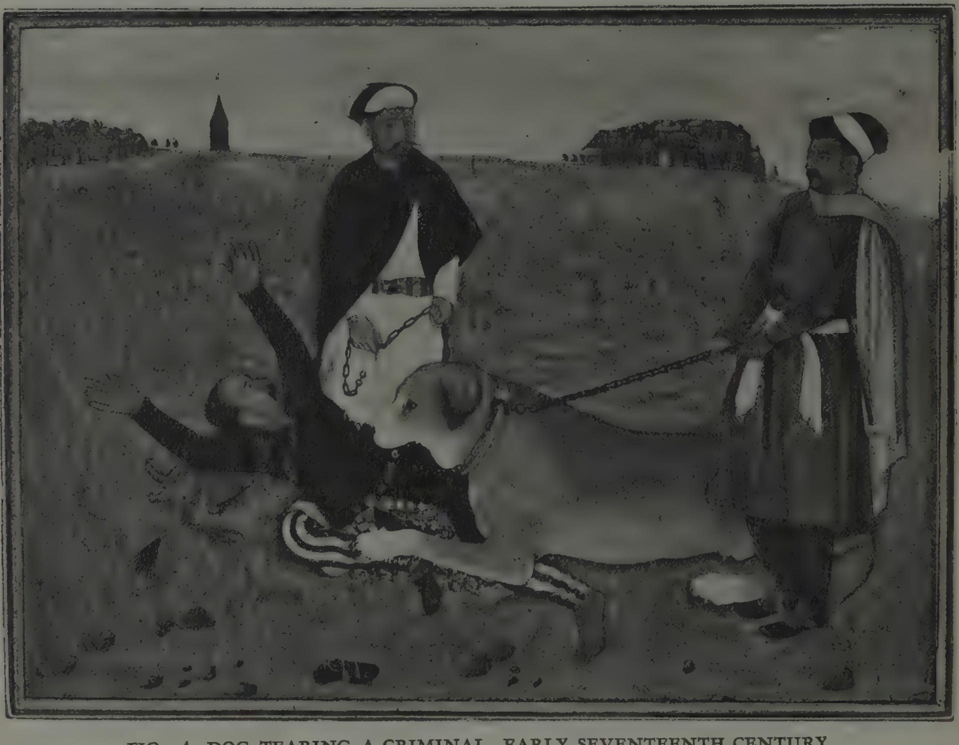


FIG. 4. DOG TEARING A CRIMINAL, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

PLATE XCI. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections* grouping of quite the sames styles, and therefore must be closely related to the Dārāb-Nāmah. This style had been imported to India after Humāyūn's exile in Persia. Yet there was another style of painting brought from Turkistān to India by Bābur. It is in this style that the two miniatures later included in the Jahāngīr album may be executed.[7] One of these represents a maritime fight between a merchantman and pirates, about 1530, with the representation of a very primitive forerunner of fire-weapons, and the other, a meeting between Humāyūn and his brother Hindāl, with the emperor's harīm seen among the rocks in the background. The characteristics of the latter painting are very glowing colours and the mongoloid faces, and above all, the exaggerated modelling which tends to destroy the impression of space in the whole composition. Whether a very particular portrait in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum [I. 4593, Folio 38a] of the Sūrī Sultān Shēr Shāh, who had defeated and expelled Humāyūn, can be regarded as an authentic example of the Pathān style, may be left undecided; perhaps it is only an inaccurate copy, but even so it is not an unimportant document. The transition to the classical Akbarī School is represented by the illustration to the Hamzah Nāmah,[8] of which there are two examples in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, and one in Leipsic.

b. The Classical Akbarī School (about 1575–1610)

Germany is in the possession of only two complete manuscripts belonging to this School, a Shāhnāmah [MS Orient. Folio 172] and a Khamsah of Amīr Khusrau [MS Orient. Folio 1278] in the Staatsbibliothek at Berlin. Unfortunately, eight pictures of the first manuscript have been replaced by bad illustrations of the late eighteenth century; there are, nevertheless, as many original paintings[9] in the best style of the sixteenth century with all the liveliness, intimacy, and brilliancy, characteristic of this period; they seem to be very near relatives of the manuscript of the Anvār-i Suhailī in the London School of Oriental Studies. The signatures are, however, missing. Of yet greater beauty is the Amīr Khusrau manuscript. According to an extensive note inserted in 1617 by the Khān-Khānān 'Abd-ar-Rahīm Khān (one of the highest grandees of the emperor Akbar and son of his guardian Bairām Khān) it was purchased by the latter in Gujarāt and is said to be a masterpiece jointly executed by the calligrapher Sultān 'Alī and the most renowned of all Muslim painters, Bihzād. Its miniatures[10] which are framed by charming illuminated borders, are, nevertheless, actually signed by three less known painters of Akbar's reign, Qāsim, Nadīm, and Mishkish. Later, Shāhjahān inscribed a short notice, and Aurangzēb added his seal. There is another Shāhnāmah [Staatsbibliothek MS Orient. Folio 189] to be mentioned. Originally it had no illustrations; subsequently many miniatures of very different origin were pasted over the text and were adapted to its size by various disfiguring additions. Among these, however, is a quantity of bad miniatures, but nevertheless some very fine paintings of the Akbarī School.

The other miniatures of the sixteenth century included in German collections are much scattered. Thus, the Jahāngīr album contains the representation of a murder[11] which recalls a similar one in the Razm-Nāmah, Jaipur.[12] A number of them in the Taswīrān Volumes collected by Major Polier, are now preserved in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum. Most of them [I. 4593, Folio 10a, 27b, 28a, 32a; I. 4594, Folio 9a; I. 4596, Folio 21a, 25a] must have been originally the illustrations of a manuscript of Kāshifī's Anvār-i Suhailī. Among the other sixteenth century pictures are the following representations: a young man about to cut off the head of a girl sitting with bound eyes in a garden where naked babies are playing;[13] the young emperor

---

[7] Kühnel and Goetz, op. cit., Plates 3, 4, 31, 32. A last phase of this style perhaps may be represented by the panorama of a town, Plate 1.

[8] H. Glück, *Die indischen Miniaturen des Haamzaa-Romans*, Vienna, 1925.

[9] Grohmann and Arnold, *Indische Buchkunst*, Plates 79–81.

[10] Op. cit., Plates 84–87, Florence and Munich, 1929.

[11] Kühnel and Goetz, op. cit., Plate 2.

[12] Hendley, *Memorials of the Jeypore Exhibition of 1883*, Vol. IV, Plate 32.

[13] Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei im islamischen Orient*, Plate 106, Berlin, 1923.

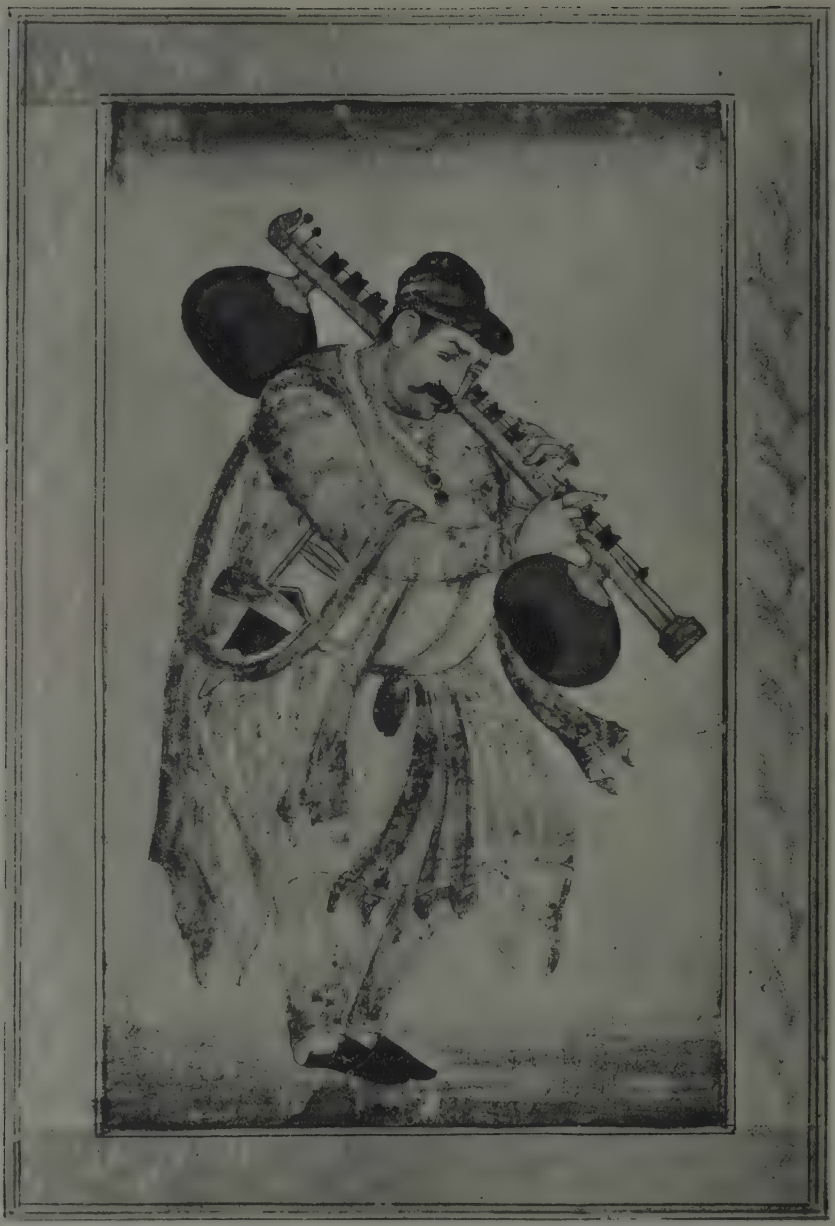


FIG. 5. PORTRAIT OF PARAŚURĀM BĪNKĀR-Ī JAHĀNGIRSHĀHĪ, A FAMOUS MUSICIAN
MUGHAL PAINTING, EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Goldschmidt Collection, Berlin

PLATE XCII. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections*

Akbar dictating to his secretaries in a garden [Maktab-Khānah-i Akbar Pādshāh, I. 4594, Folio 11a]; a scene of mourning [I. 4548, Folio 27a] (Fig. 2), perhaps for the death of Dūbūn-i-Nuyān—related in the Tārīkh-i Rāshidī—as in the painting in the Leipsic Museum, by Basāwan;[14] two fairies flying through the air [I. 4593, Folio 8b], whose veils recall the wind-gods of Gandhāran art; and finally a fairy playing a harp seated in a car on the back of a camel which is composed of various human and animal figures [I. 4595, Folio 23a]; the dog that accompanies it is copied from Dürer's engraving of the Knight with Death and the Devil.[15]

In the Ethnographical Museum there is a representation of a banquet of the emperor Bābur with Chagatāi dancing girls, apparently an early seventeenth century copy of the corresponding illustration to the London Wāqiāt-i Bāburī.[16] Some years ago a maritime scene from the Hamzah-Nāmah was auctioned by Paul Cassirer, Berlin; these are now in the collections of H. Tiedemann, who has a quantity of good oriental miniatures, among which there are also some of this period.[17]

c. THE JAHĀNGĪRĪ SCHOOL (1600–1628)

When the heir-apparent, Sultan Salīm, rebelled against his father, he relied especially on the orthodox Muhammedan court-party, and therefore he affected Persian manners in opposition to the Hindu tendencies of Akbar. He wore Persian dress and employed Persian artists such as Aqā Rizā and others. In such apparel he is seen kneeling before his special religious patron, Shaikh Salīm Chishtī, on a miniature in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum[18] painted in the same early manner we have already observed in the case of the portrait of Humāyūn and Hindāl. After ascending the throne, however, Jahāngīr changed his bearing and followed his father's policy. It was in his reign that Mughal painting reached its greatest height. One of the finest masterpieces of this period, the so-called Jahāngīr Album which we have already mentioned, is in the possession of the State Library, Berlin. In 1861 it was brought back from Persia by the Prussian Embassy; how it had reached into Persia cannot be ascertained, whether after the sack of Delhi by Nādir Shāh or with the embassy headed by Khān 'Ālam sent to Shāh 'Abbās the Great in 1618. The inscriptions found on it as well as its contents indicate that it must have been executed during the years 1608–1618. On twenty-five fairly large sheets, among which another in the Marteau Collection originally belonged,[19] are miniatures of various kinds, each in a sumptuous frame of flower and animal pattern, illuminated in colours and gold on alternately brown and yellow paper. The miniatures in turn alternate with the works of famous calligraphers in similar frames, only these frames are composed of figural designs copied from contemporary (or slightly older) Indian and Persian miniatures, and even European paintings. Two very small signatures declare these album leaves were executed by the two painters Bālchand and Govardhan (Fig. 3) in the imperial studio. It is impossible here to deal with all the pictures in the album. It must suffice to select two series in addition to the early ones already mentioned. One series comprises a number of portraits, with personal notes by Jahāngīr, of people who were received, invested or promoted by the emperor during his journey from Āgrā to Māndu and the theatre of war in the Dekhan. There are among these, unfortunately, none of the British Ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, nor the Portuguese envoys from Goa, who at this very time frequented Jahāngīr's Court. Nevertheless, their presence can be guessed through the existence of another series of European engravings and copies from them, especially the works of Dürer, Rottenhamer and Beham. These were not naturally original engravings by these artists, but copies by the so-called Dutch mannerists which had been sent to the Jesuit mission in Goa, a mission that exercised in those days considerable influence

---

[14] Idem, Plate 108.

[15] Idem, Plate 141.

[16] British Museum, MS Or. 3714, Vol. 295a.

[17] *Die Woche*, September 7, 1929.

[18] Kühnel, op. cit., Plate 103.

[19] Marteau and Vever, *Miniatures Persanes*, Plates 167–168, Paris, 1913.

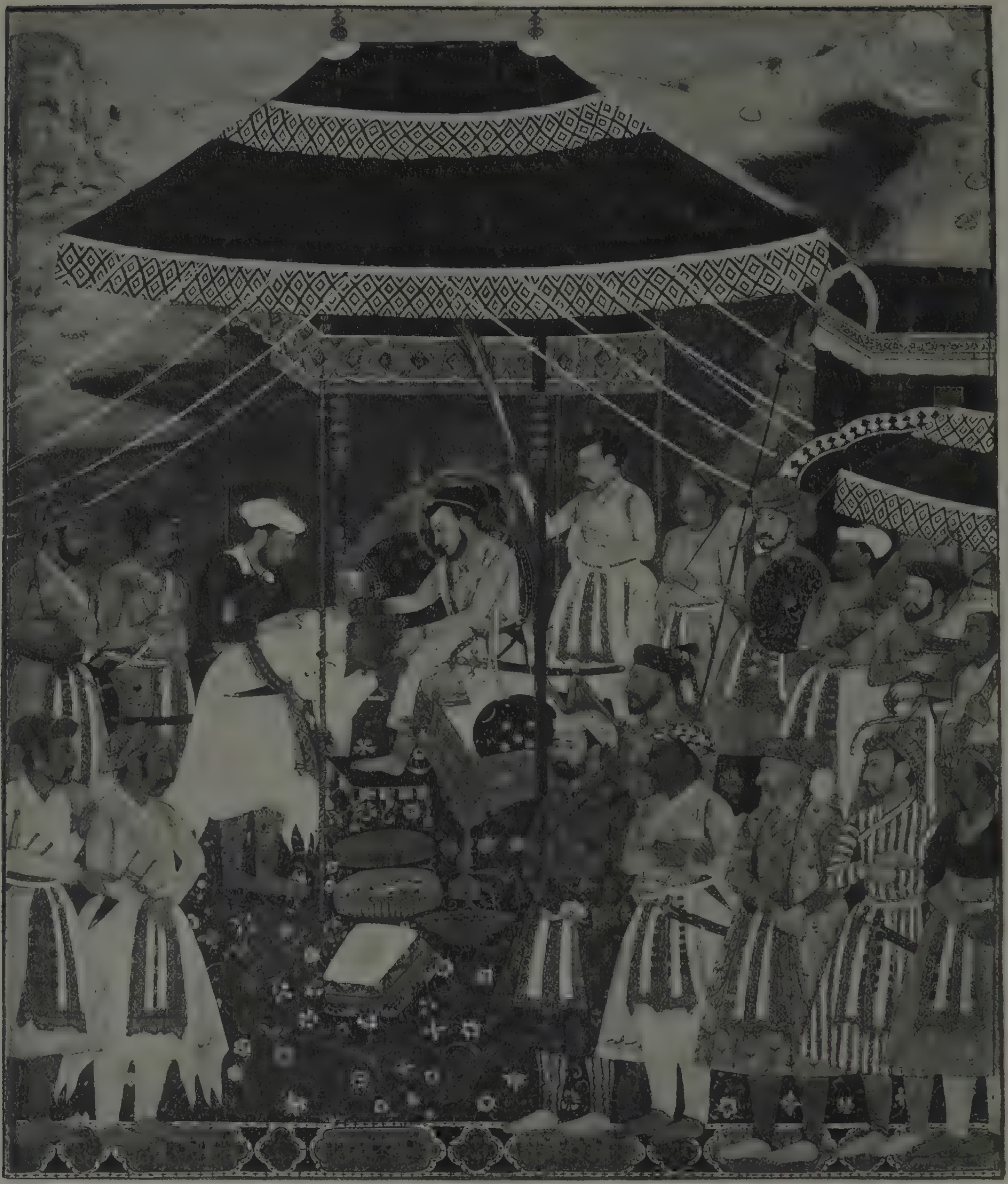


FIG. 6. DURBĀR OF SHĀHJAHĀN. MUG̲HAL PAINTING, ABOUT 1630
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

on the Mughal Court. Of other pictures a town scene may be mentioned, executed by a late expression of the above-mentioned Turkistānī style, as well as a striking group of magpies, surely painted by the famous Ustād Mansūr, although it shows no signature. Other painters who collaborated in the production of the Jahāngīr Album are Bishndās, Manōhar, Manōshahr and Nādir-az-Zamān. A self-portrait of the celebrated Késavadās painted in 1590 with his own signature in Hindi, is also included in the album.

The quantity of other paintings of the Jahāngīrī School that are to be found in Berlin is not small. The more they are widely scattered, the more difficult is it to enumerate them all. There is a little muraqqa in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum [I. 4601], which was once in the Hamilton Library and perhaps previously in the Polier Collection; it is a near relative to the more renowned and similar booklet that once was presented by the unhappy prince Dārā Shikōh to his wife, Nadīrah, and now is preserved in the India Office, London [R. and L. 944–1908]. It was completed in Shāhjahān's time, though later several miniatures were added; nevertheless the majority of its paintings, and especially the finest among these, date from Jahāngīr's reign. There are delicate scenes from the Emperor's zenānah life; portraits of his pages,[20] servant-girls, children[21] and mistresses;[22] the Emperor visiting a pious ascetic—perhaps Gosāin Jadrūp; a charming group of pigeons, by Ikhlas; a great series of butterflies, executed in the finest and most accurate manner; and finally two Persian designs, signed Rizā 'Abbāsī and Rizā Jahāngīrshāhī. The other Polier volumes contain only three pictures worthy of mention here, one representing Jahāngīr's oldest son, Khusrau, with a fighting-cock [I. 4593]; another of the Emperor himself on a throne of European workmanship (with an allegorical group of naked damsels) in a garden, surrounded by his courtiers [I. 4597];[23] and, lastly, a dog tearing a criminal to pieces [I. 4594], (Fig. 4). There is a manuscript of Abū'l-Fazl's Āīn-i Akbarī in the Prussian State Library [MS Hamilton 1] with portraits of Akbar, Jahāngīr, and a falconer. Several portraits of the emperor as well as his grandees and officials are preserved in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek [No. 1473] and in the Goldschmidt Collection. In the latter also are two portraits of famous Hindu musicians, Tārāchand Akbarshāhī and Paraśurām bīnkār-i Jahāngīrshāhī (Fig. 5); and further on a very strange and quite singular representation of a certain Sidī Sa'd (Fig. 14) a negro singer in Moroccan dress with an African harp, who was a follower of Malik 'Ambar, the Abyssinian eunuch and minister of Ahmadnagar.

d. SHĀHJAHĀNĪ AND 'ĀLAMGĪRĪ (AURANGZĒB) SCHOOLS (1628–1707)

The school of Shāhjahān marks the beginning of the decline of quality in Mughal painting. Yet, nevertheless, it is during this period that it attained the climax of its production and luxuriance. Therefore, many miniatures of this period are met with in German collections just as everywhere. But there is only one illuminated manuscript of this school in the Prussian State Library [MS Orient. Folio 310], the *Wonders of the World* by Qazwīnī, dated 1695; its illustrations in spite of their accuracy can claim only historical interest. That the little muraqqa [I. 4601] apart from some later additions, was finally completed in this epoch has already been mentioned. Of portraits there were incorporated those of Shāhjahān and Aurangzēb themselves, and of their sons, as well as a very delicate one of Akbar. Some of the other Polier volumes, though put together only a century later, include mainly miniatures of the seventeenth century. Above all, the great album of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum [I. 4596] contains a number of very pompous representations of Mughal Court life: two durbārs of Shāhjahān,[24] one in the Delhī palace and the other in a tent by the

---

[20] Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde, New Series, Vol. II, No. 2, page 31, 1926.

[21] Sattar Kheiri, *Indische Miniaturen*, Berlin O. J., Plate 44.

[22] Cicerone, Vol. XV, No. 9, page 421, 1923.

[23] Asia Major, II, fasc. 2, Plate 9, 1925.

[24] Idem, Plate 10.

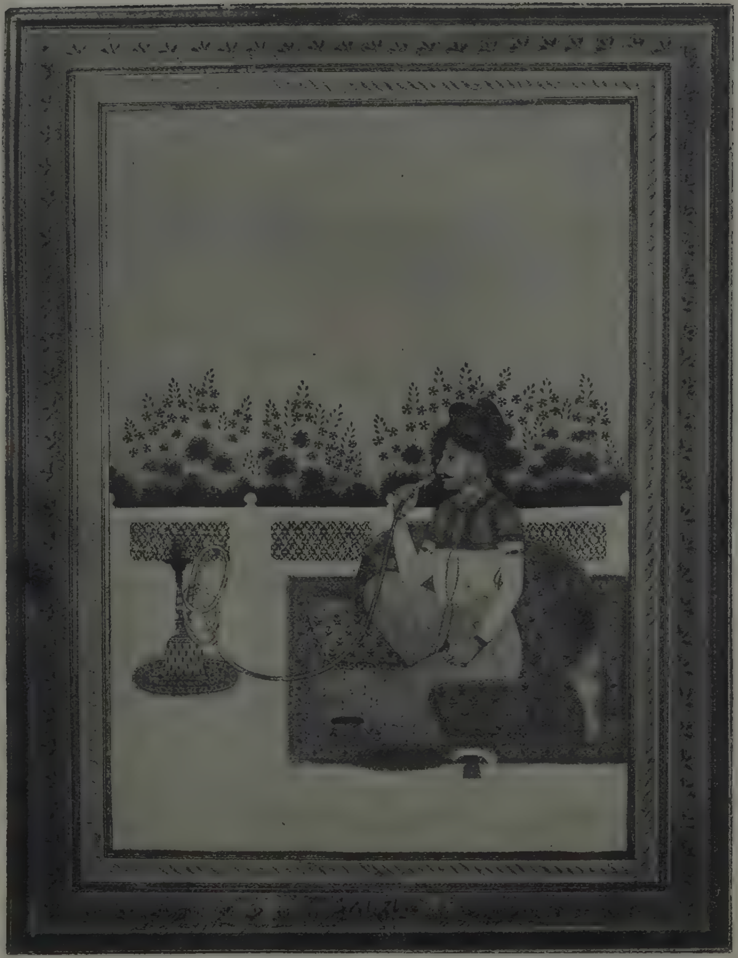


FIG. 7. THE MARĀTHA GENERAL BĀJĪ RĀO. MUGHAL PORTRAIT, MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

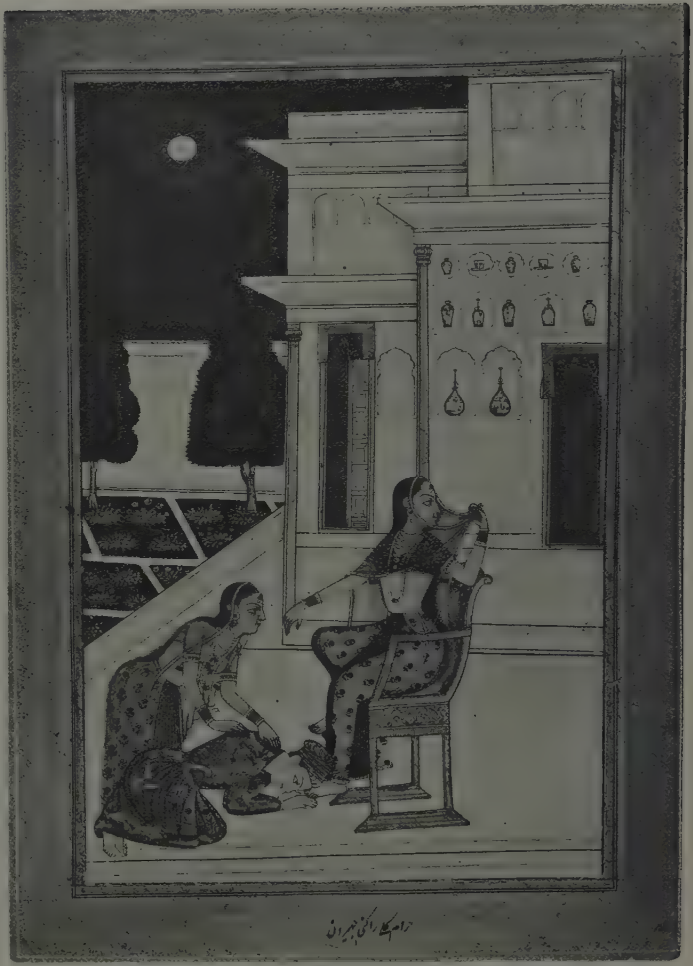


FIG. 8. RĀMKALĪ RĀGINĪ, FROM A RĀGMĀLĀ, RĀJASTHĀN, EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Ethnographical Museum, Berlin

PLATE XCIV. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections* side of a tank (Fig. 6); Shāhjahān entering in Āgrā; Dārā Shikōh in Delhī;[25] a private audience of the grand vazīr Asad Khān before Aurangzēb; and last, a harīm scene, the princess and poetess Zēb-an-Nisā Bēgam celebrating the Shabi Barāt with her Court ladies[26] (also represented in I. 4593). Next are some miniatures glorifying the Dynasty's past: Jahāngīr at God's service on the 'Īdgāh,[27] and the triumph of Tīmūr over the representative of the Osmanli Emperor, Bāyezīd Yildirim,[28] the only great rival of the Mughal court. Of these last, three are duplicated in I. 4594 and I. 4595; and a copy by Rembrandt in the Sarre Collection.[29] Further on the muraqqa contains a remarkable series of elephants, among which is the renowned Madhukār Gajrāj, by the hands of such famous artists as Mansūr, Gōvardhan, La'l-Chand[30] and Rāmdās; the rider in two of the elephant pictures is the ill-fated prince Dārā Shikōh with his youngest son.

The remaining albums of the Polier series as well as the other museums and collections are also full of single paintings of this period. There are portraits of the emperors: Jahāngīr, clad only in a small dhoti, drinking in the company of Nūrjahān [I. 4593];[31] Shāhjahān [I. 4591, Goldschmidt and Tiedemann Collections],[32] Aurangzēb [I. 4593, I. 4594;[33] Staatliche Kunstbibliothek No. 1473;[34] Staatsbibliothek Libr. pict. A. 91] and Bahādur I. [Staatliche Kunstbibliothek No. 1473]; portraits of the imperial princes: Parvīz and Būlāqī [Goldschmidt Collection], Dārā Shikōh [I. 4596, Staatliche Kunstbibliothek No. 1473[35] and 1475; and the Goldschmidt Collection], Shujā' [I. 4597 and 4598], Murādbakhsh [Staatliche Kunstbibliothek No. 1473; and the Goldschmidt Collection]; Kambakhsh [I. 4597]; Azīmāsh-shān [I. 4597]; portraits of the grandees of the Court; Tān Sēn [I. 4593]; Ja'far Khān [Staatliche Kunstbibliothek No. 1473], Āsaf Khān [I. 4599], Shāistah Khān[36] [I. 4594 and 4595]; Jaswant Singh[37] [I. 4595], and of many other people of less importance. There are signed works of the following artists: Ānupchatar, Ānupkār, and Bhārāwall [Goldschmidt Collection], Bālchand [I. 4593], Hāshim[38] [I. 4589 and I. 4593], Mohandās—perhaps an Indian version of Yūsuf-u Zulaikhā—[Goldschmidt Collection], Mu'in, a portrait of Mīrzā Muhammad Bāqir in Persian style, dated 1674 [Goldschmidt Collection] and one of Rājā Rām in the same collection.

An audience, which Aurangzēb granted to the Persian ambassador Būdāq Bēg in a garden, 1661, in the presence of his sons Sultān A'zam and Mu'azzam, and Shāistah Khān, is depicted on a great sheet in the Ethnographical Museum in Munich.

Finally, there are small genre paintings, of which only a few need be mentioned; a Caesarean operation (birth of Rustam) [Ethnographical Museum], a lion-keeper [I. 4591], a loving couple with Christian angels[39] [I. 4594], a Christian mother with her babe and some Portuguese drinking wine[40] [I. 4595], and a monk listening to the music of a Persian youth[41] [I. 4597].

e. Mughal Painting in the Eighteenth Century

This phase of Mughal art comprises all the works of Indian painting from about 1712 to about 1790, that is, from the breaking up of the empire into a loose confederation of more or less sovereign Nawābs and Rājās until the supremacy of British power. During this period Mughal painting changed into a uniform luxurious,

---

[25] Sattar Kheiri, op. cit., Plate 14.

[26] Idem, Plate 43.

[27] Idem, Plate 18; Kühnel, op. cit., Plate 110.

[28] Sattar Kheiri, Plate 19; Kühnel, Plate 111.

[29] Sarre, *Rembrandt's Zeichnungen nach indisch-islamischen Miniaturen*, Berlin, 1904.

[30] Kühnel, *Islamische Kleinkunst*, Fig. 26, Berlin, 1925.

[31] Asia Major, II, fasc. 2, Plate 8.

[32] *Die Woche*, September 7, 1929.

[33] Sattar Kheiri, Plates 47 and 48.

[34] *Katalog der Frh. v. Lipperheide'schen Kostümbibliothek, 1896-1961*, Vol. I, page 585.

[35] Idem, page 593.

[36] Sattar Kheiri, Plate 12; another one in Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde, loc. cit., page 2.

[37] Cicerone, Vol. XV, No. 9, page 422.

[38] E. Diez, *Die Elemente der persischen Landschaftsmalerei*, Vienna, 1922.

[39] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Vol. I, 1924, Plate 35.

[40] Kühnel, op. cit., Plate 114; a similar sheet in the Sarre collection, Idem, Plate 113.

[41] Kühnel, op. cit., 1st edition, Plate 129a.

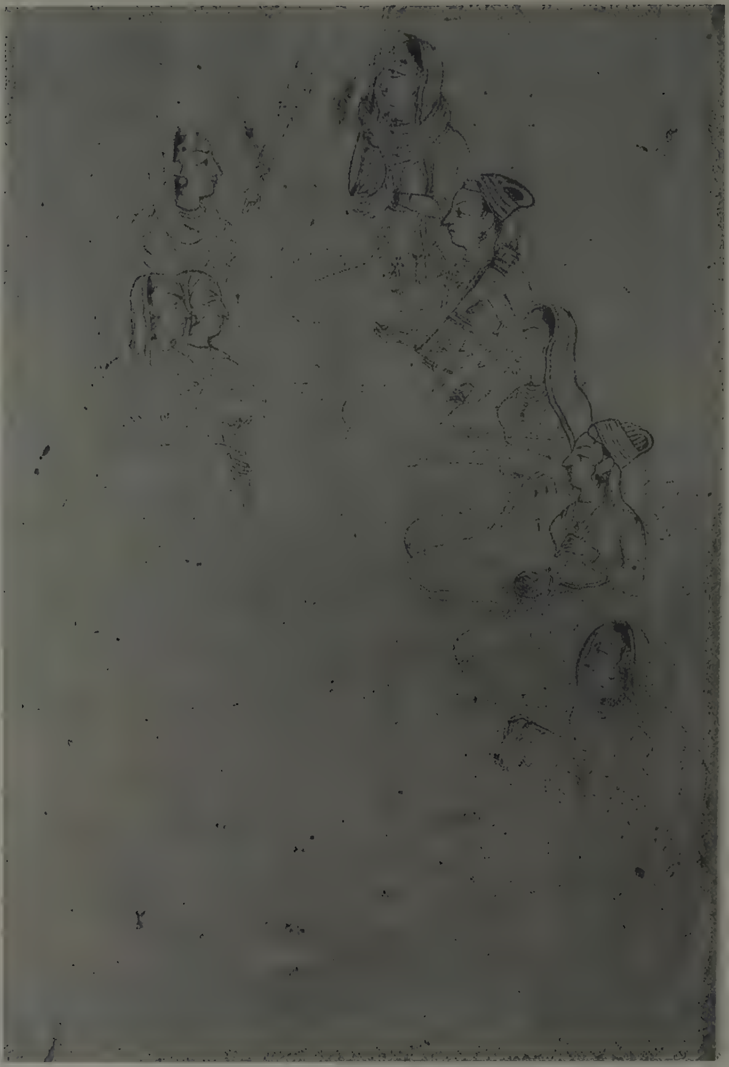


FIG. 9. A GROUP OF MUSICIANS. JAIPUR-MUG͟HAL STYLE, SECOND HALF OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Schneider-Kainer Collection, Berlin

PLATE XCV. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections* though somewhat conventional style, which was finally supplanted by a new renaissance of seventeenth century art, pompous and stiff. It was during the last years of this period, that the Polier Collection of muraqqas was brought together. Major Polier, a Swiss of French extraction, born in 1721, went to India in 1757, and entered the service of the East India Company as an assistant engineer; he was made an officer by Clive, and in 1776, by Hasting's help he became architect and engineer to the Nawābs Shujā'-ad-Daulah and Āsafad-Daulah of Oudh. Later, Polier entered the service of the Mughal emperor of Delhī. After being sent as Hasting's agent to Lakhnau, where he made extensive studies on Hindu civilization, he returned to Europe in 1788, and nine years later, in 1795, he was murdered near Avignon. During the years 1767–1776 Polier collected those eight muraqqas, which later on were acquired by William Beckford, and finally went to Berlin with the Hamilton Library. The painter, who made up these volumes from many earlier pictures that often form closely connected groups, together with copies of such miniatures and works by his own pencil, was Mihr Chand, the son of Gangāram.[42] From which originals he made his copies cannot now in most cases be ascertained; some of the prototypes of these must have been European paintings, for example, in the case of a naked woman, apparently by an Italian artist;[42] others were early Mughal paintings, such as the reception of a prince on an elephant[42] [43] or seventeenth century works as in the case of the Praying Rānī,[42] [44] after a miniature of Fath Chand.[45] Of his many own works may be mentioned portraits of the Nawābs Shujā'-ad-Daulah[46] and Āsaf-ad-Daulah of Oudh [I. 4594, 4597, 4598, 4601], as well as of the last independent emperor of Delhī, Shāh 'Ālam II;[42] then the *Généalogie des Empereurs Mogols* [Nisb-Nāmah-i Shāh 'Ālam, I. 4600][47], pictures of courtiers and ladies of his time, and, as it seems, an album [Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, I C. 24353] of representations of the fortress and palace[48] as well as the Great Mosque of Delhī, the Tāja, the gardens of Delhī and Kashmīr and the pleasures of these gardens that were so high in favour in later times.[49]

Apart from the early miniatures and the paintings from Mihr Chand's workshop, most of the pictures were executed in the reigns of Farrukhsiyar (1712–1718) and Muhammad Shāh (1718–1748): Portraits of [50] Farrukhsiyar, for example, of Muhammad Shāh,[51] of Qamar-ad-Dīn Khān, of Ghāzī-ad-Dīn-Khān, and others; representations of Hindu and Muslim saints,[52] such as the six great Indo-Muhammedan saints, Shāh Daulā, Shāh Nūr, Shāh Madār, Ibrāhīm Adham and Kabīr, as well as of vēshes and yōgīs,[53] elephants, gazelles, and so forth.[54] But above all there are more or less sensual scenes of harīm life; loving couples in garden and bed-chamber, women bathing, conversing, playing and dancing, children, and the like, paintings which need not be enumerated at length.[55]

It is in the second half of the eighteenth century, however, that the romantic themes Lailā and Majnūn,[56] Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī,[57] Bhīls hunting—also on a Leipsic painting—and others are introduced. At the same time the zenāna pictures become increasingly lascivious, even obscene. There are portraits of this late period

---

[42] E. Kühnel, *Mihr Tschand, ein unbekannter Mogulmaler*, Berliner Museen, Berichtea us den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen XLIII, Nos. 11 and 12, page 115 ff., 1922.

[43] Kühnel, *Miniaturmalerei*, Plate 105.

[44] Idem, Plate 134.

[45] Johnson Collection, India Office, London, Vol. 50, Fol. 1a.

[46] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, loc. cit., Plate 39.

[47] Small copies of the latter, in the next album, Kühnel, Plates 119–122; see also Tagore Collection, Calcutta.

[48] Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, No. 4, page 306 ff., 1925.

[49] Kühnel, op. cit., Plate 112; a duplicate in the India Office, Johnson Collection, Vol. 1, Fol. 27a; M. L. Gothein, *Indische Gärten*, Plates 28–40, Munich, 1926; Wasmuth, Monatshefte für Baukunst, Vol. VII, Nos. 1–2, 1922.

[50] On Mughal portraits generally see H. Goetz, *Indische Historische Portraits*, Asia Major, Vol. II, No. 2, page 227 ff., 1925.

[51] Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. X, page 45 ff., 1923.

[52] Sattar Kheiri, Plates 25, 26, 28; Asia Major, loc. cit., Plate XI.

[53] Sattar Kheiri, Plates 21–23, 29.

[54] Sattar Kheiri, Plates 1–11; Kühnel, op. cit., Plates 137–139.

[55] Sattar Kheiri, Plates 33–37, 38–42; Kühnel, op. cit., Plates 131. Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Vol. I, Plates 35, 36, 38, 40; Cicerone, Vol. XV, No. 9, page 425; Rückert and Glasenapp, *Indische Liebeslyrik*, pages 4, 48, 80, 192, 240, Munich, 1921; Reitzenstein, *Liebe und Ehe im Alten Orient*, Fig. 49, Plate 31, Stuttgart, 1909.

[56] Kühnel, Plate 130; see also India Office, Johnson Collection, Vol. 10, Fol. 9a.

[57] Sattar Kheiri, Plate 31.

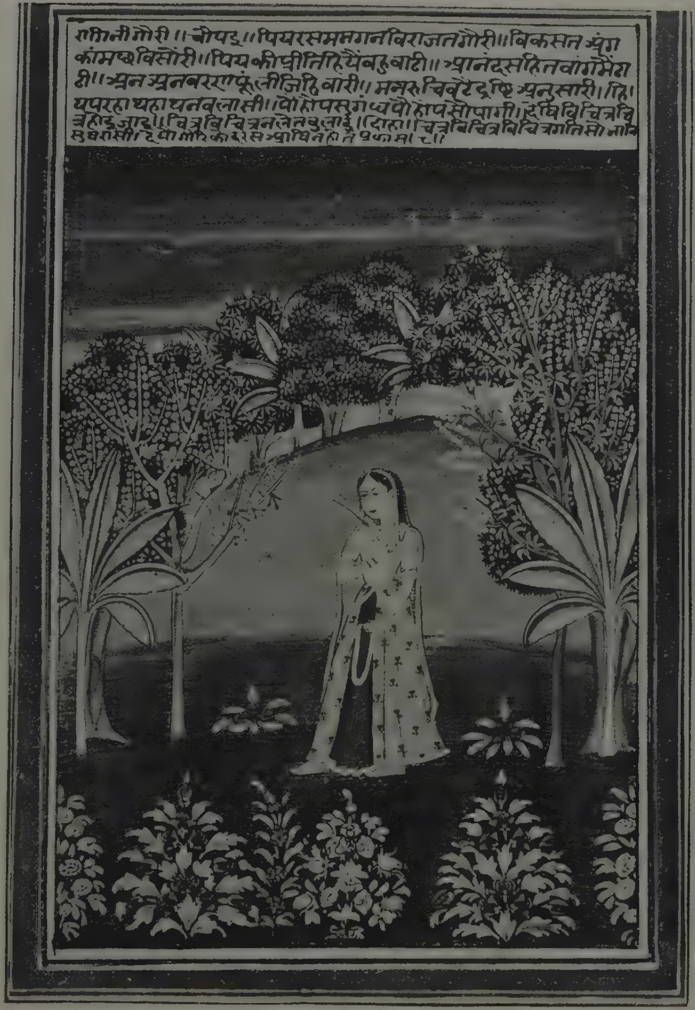


FIG. 10. GAURĪ RĀGINĪ, FROM A RĀGMĀLA,
RĀJASTHĀN, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY
Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, Berlin

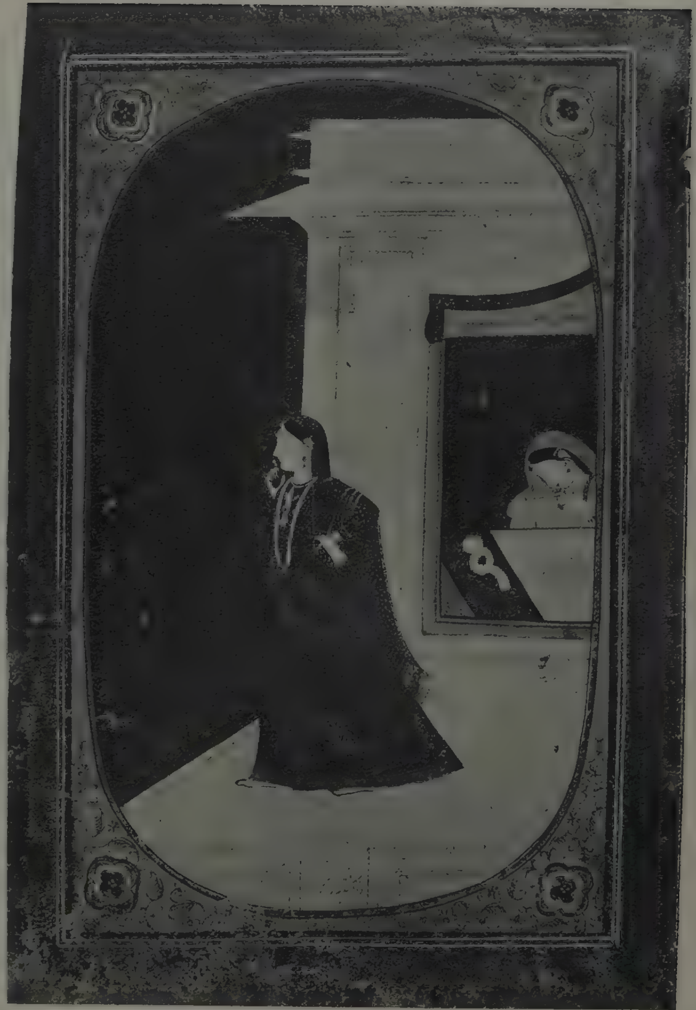


FIG. 11. UTKĀ NĀYIKĀ, PAHĀRĪ PAINTING
KĀNGRĀ SCHOOL, ABOUT 1800
Ethnographical Museum, Berlin

PLATE XCVI. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections* in the Polier volumes, such as the one picturing the emperor Ahmad Shāh[58] in the company of the Nawāb Safdar Jang of Oudh and the chief eunuch Jāwēd Khān, favourite of the Emperor's mother, Edham Bāī,[59] and portraits of Sa'adat Khān Burhān-al-Mulk, Sirāj-ad-Daulah of Bengal,[60] Muhammad Khān Bangash, the Marātha general Bājī Rāō[61] (Fig. 7), Naval Rāi, a minister of Shujā'-ad-Daulah, and a number of other like portraits.

A very interesting light is thrown on the character of this turbulent epoch by a Shāhnāmah in the Prussian State Library [MS Orient. Folio 209], rather roughly executed, that was illuminated partly in India during the reign of Farrukhsiyar and partly in Persia in the beginning of the past century. With predilection most of its illustrations depict the murder and execution of princes and the deliverance of their heads to their enemies or successors; perhaps there may be some relation between this choice of subject and the many murders committed by the Mughal emperors and princes during the years 1711–1720. In the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek at Munich there is an incomplete Rāgmālā manuscript [Cod. Orient. mixt. 48] of only nine sheets; though it cannot at present be classified with certainty, it appears to be some forerunner of that style of painting that flourished about a century later in Gwāliōr and possibly Benāres; a tenth miniature would seem anyhow to belong to the Pahārī, or some Rājasthāni School. A further manuscript of this epoch is a Shāhnāmah in the Prussian State Library, Berlin [MS Hamilton 250] which, according to an old note, was bought in 1765 by an English officer at 'Lucknough' (Lakhnau). Its rough miniatures seem to be copied by a Hindu painter from originals of Jahāngīr's reign which in their turn apparently go back to a yet older Persian work.

What single pictures of this time there are in the Polier volumes, we have already mentioned; we may therefore confine our survey to the contents of the other collections. A very charming garden scene in Hamburg must have been executed in the first decades of the eighteenth century. To the same period, on the whole, there belong some portraits in the Goldschmidt Collection such as that of Himmat Khān Bahādur and two designs by the artist Keśodās, 'Shīrīn at Khusrau's tomb' by Muhammad Fāṣil, and in the Sarre Collection two dancing girls, a duplicate of which latter there is in the British Museum; and finally some miniatures in the State Library in Berlin [Libr. pict. A. 91]: a girl in Chagatāi dress beside the corpse of a murdered youth, a splendid group of a nawāb with his wives on a river-terrace, and others.

During the effeminate period that corresponds with the last years of Muhammad Shāh's reign, when the local Nawābs became increasingly independent, the portraits of the emperor Ahmad Shāh,[62] as well as those of several Nawābs of Bengal and of Shujā'-ad-Daulah of Oudh were painted and are now collections of the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek in Berlin [No. 1475]. A group of Nautch-girls before a rāja[63] (which may perhaps have come from Benāres) and 'Bāz Bahādur and Rūpmatī hunting gazelles are in the collections of the Ethnographical Museum in Munich. Another representation of the latter subject is to be found in the Goldschmidt Collection, which comprises also a fancy portrait of Chand Bībī, the valiant queen of Ahmadnagar, and some signed paintings, such as the portrait of a lady by Kalyāndās and an allegorical group of women by Tēg Chand from an Italian picture. Two very delicate representations of holy ascetic women, full of sympathy for their fellow creatures; a tame lion and a cheeta, are to be seen in the Prussian State Library[64] [Libr. pict. A. 91].

---

[58] Asia Major, Vol. II, No. 2, Plate IV.

[59] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Plate 37.

[60] Idem, Plate 6.

[61] Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde, New Series, Vol. I, No. 4, page 88.

[62] Kühnel, Plate 122.

[63] Goetz, *Indische Miniaturen im Münchner Völkerkunde-Museum*, Münchner Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst, Vol. XIII, No. 2, page 62.

[64] Goetz, *Ein indisches Heiligenbild des XVIII Jahrhundert*, Pantheon, November, 1929, page 497.

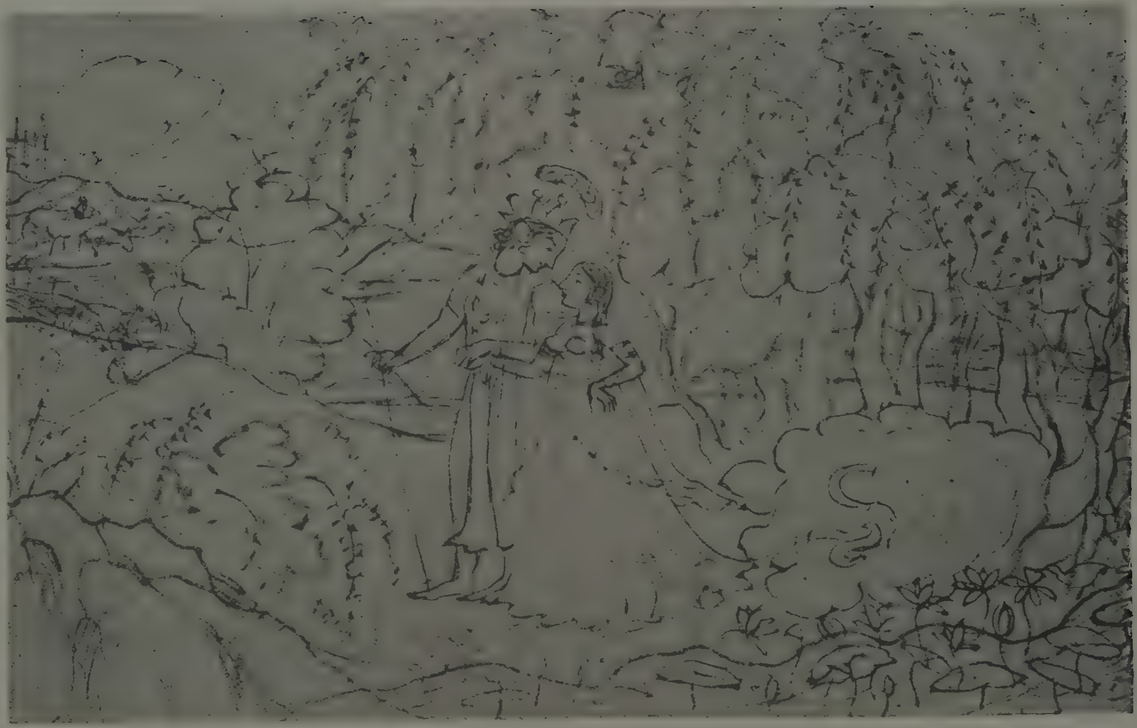


FIG. 12. RĀDHĀ AND KRISHNA IN THE BRINDĀ GROVE. PAHĀRĪ ILLUSTRATION TO JAYADEVA'S GĪTĀGOVINDA. KĀNGRĀ SCHOOL, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Schneider-Kainer Collection, Berlin

PLATE XCVII. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections*

f. DECLINE AND END OF MUGHAL PAINTING

The last place of Mughal art abounds in voluminous and pompous, yet nevertheless stiff and hollow, paintings. One would have thought that after the annihilation of its former power and riches, the aristocracy of this time would have wished at least to recall, through the fancy of the artist, the great past of the reigns of Akbar and Shāhjahān, a past that was its sole remaining pride. But interest and industry can never alone compensate for the faded vitality of a bygone age. There is a very richly illuminated manuscript of Nizāmī's Iskandar-Nāmah[65] in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, already executed in 1786 in Āgra. Its rightly gilded borders try to imitate the vigorous and yet delicate style of Jahāngīr's time, just as its miniatures affect that of Shāh Jahān's Court, and in neither are the qualities of the models attained. Another manuscript of Qazwīnī's *Wonders of the World* is preserved in the Prussian State Library [MS Orient. Octavo 265]. According to its colophon it was written in 1525, but in the first decades of the nineteenth century, some of its empty pages (many of which were left for later illustration) were filled with pictures in the same late style; of these might be mentioned a scene in a garden with a girl being bitten by a snake; a highway with all its life of caravans and travellers; and many cobras. Three small Hindu manuscripts[66] in the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin, a Bhāgavata-Purāna and two extracts from the Mahābhārata (containing especially the Bhagavadgītā) are richly bound in red velvet embroidered with silver, and their glowing, cleanly drawn miniatures are framed by complicated ornamental gilded borders; in one manuscript the text is written in silver letters on a bluish-black ground. Perhaps they were painted in Benāres or in Gwāliōr, whence comes a manuscript-roll of the Mahābhārata[67] now in Munich [Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod: sankr. 173], though of inferior workmanship. Perhaps to another local school, that of Oudh, belongs a complete Rāgmālā, with a short inscription in Urdū, in the Ethnographical Museum at Berlin[68] [I C. 24346], which seems to be closely related to the two Rāgmālā volumes [31 and 32] of the Johnson Collection in the India Office, London.

Beside these late branches of the old Mughal style there is another group of manuscripts of a far cruder character, in which is to be felt the influence of India's flourishing neighbour Persia, which found its expression also in the dresses then in fashion at Delhī or Lakhnau. Some of these manuscripts may have been executed in Āgra or Delhī, but others perhaps in the Panjāb or Kāshmīr, because the well-known lacquer paintings from the latter country are absolutely identical with them in style and content. There may be mentioned a small undated Safīnah (anthology) in the State Library in Berlin [MS Petermann II, 138] and a Shāhnāmah of 1830 in the same library [MS Minutoli 134]; there are, further, a Khamsah of Nizāmī,[69] dated Āgra 1840 [No. 1466], with several pretty erotic pictures, and a Gulistān of Sa'dī of 1853, both in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek. It will not be necessary to deal with their illustrations in detail.

In the third group of paintings, finally, European influence, derived from the British sovereignty and the presence of adventurers of all the Western nations, becomes significant. Thus we find, for instance, the album of Indian architectural designs which were issued for the use of European travellers or for archaeological and historical studies. Of this character are the Sair-al-Manāzil of Sangīn Bēg in the Prussian State Library [MS Sprenger 234], which is a description of Delhī, with many somewhat clumsy illustrations of its monuments; and John Murray's two journals also in the Prussian State Library [MS Orient. Octavos 252 and 253]

---

[65] Sarre, *Indisch-islamische Miniaturen*, Kunst and Künstler, Vol. VI, page 471 ff., 1908.

[66] Glasenapp, *Indische Literatur*, Potsdam, 1928; similar painting in the possession of Mr. Tiedemann, Die Woche, September 7, 1929.

[67] Hertel, *Indische Märchen*, Jena, 1920.

[68] Kühnel, op. cit., Plates 127–129; Sattar Kheiri, Plate 20.

[69] Jahrbuch, etc., Plate 41.

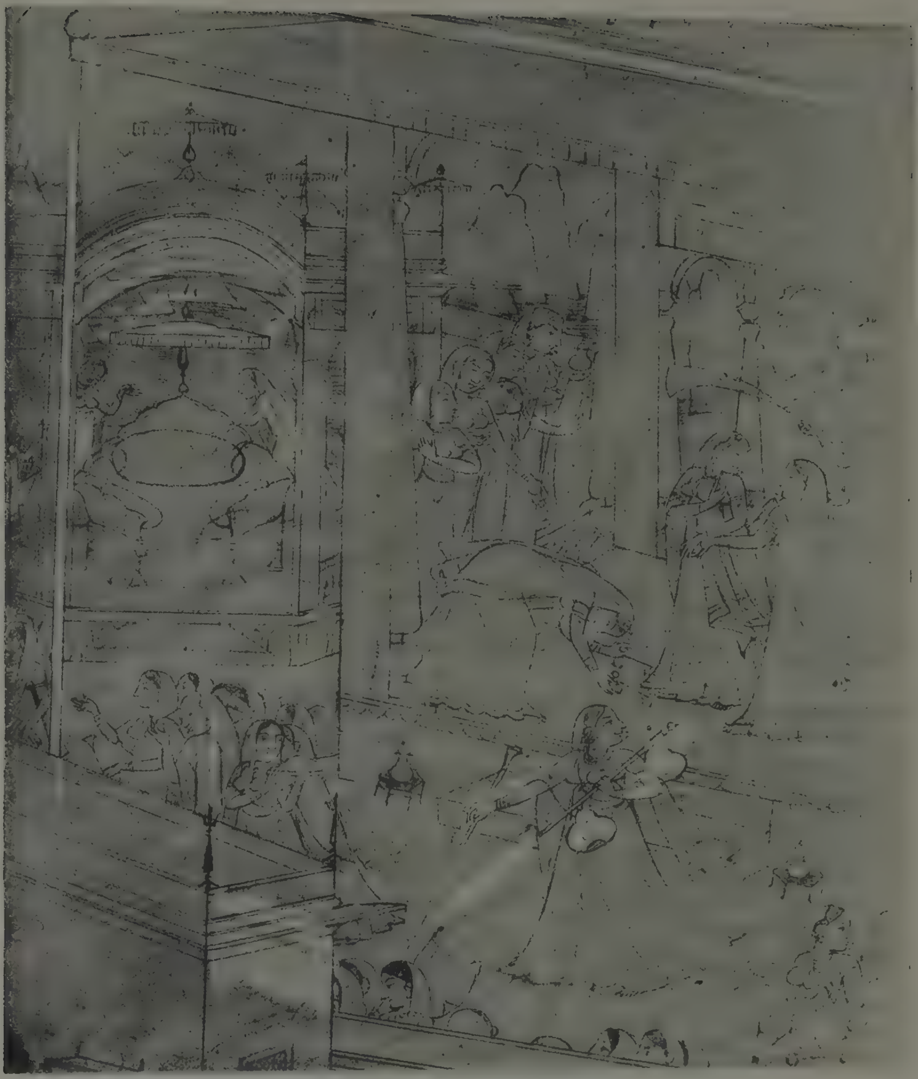


FIG. 13. UMĀ IN HER PALACE. KĀNGRĀ PAINTING, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY
Schneider-Kainer Collection, Berlin

of his tour from Calcutta to Āgra, written by his munshī in 1783–84 and 1790 (perhaps only a copy) and supplied with bad pictures. Of the small ivory paintings so in favour with most travellers in the East, there are some old examples in the Ethnographical Museum at Munich,[70] representing the last Mughal emperor Bahādur Shāh II, and his consort Zīnat Mahal, Nāna and Rāō Sāhib, the rānī Lakshmī Bāī of Jhānsī and some other prominent people of the Mutiny; of this sort some others are in Berlin.[71]

II. DEKHANĪ PAINTING

On the pictorial art of the Dekhan, both under its independent dynasties of Ahmadnagar, Golconda, Bījāpur and so on, as well as in the times of Mughal rule, no systematic disquisition has been written. It, therefore, will be of the greater importance at least to collect all the materials that are to be found anywhere, and, upon close investigation plenty of them are found to be German collections, especially in Berlin. The Hindu style in use at Golconda and Haidarābād is represented by the picture of a sleeping Dekhanī woman[72] (Fig. 16) in the possession of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum [I. 4589, Folio 1b]. On the other side the characteristics of the Mughal School are apparent in a series of portraits, which include Malik 'Ambar, prime minister of Ahmadnagar [I. 4590 and I. 4599], several 'Adilshāhī Sultāns of Bījāpur, Ibrāhīm II [Staatliche Kunstbibliothek 1473]; [Staatsbibliothek, Libr. pict. A. 91], 'Alī II (whose portraits occur often, but in most cases unlabelled); another young 'Pādishāh-i Dakhin'[73] of the early seventeenth century [I. 4595]; Muhammad 'Ādilkhān by Rāmdās, Goldschmidt Collection [I. 4596]; a Sultān of Golconda or Gujarāt [I. 4598, with two contradictory labels]; and a number of grandees from these countries and the dominions of the Nizām to be found in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek and the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, among these one of a Multafat Khān, signed by Shaikh Khudāwand from Haidarābād,[74] and in the Schneider-Kainer Collection, with a poem on the enthronement of Abū'l-Hassan Quṭb-Shāh of Golconda in 1672. A third type already known by some engravings in Havart's Op-en Ondergang van Coromandel (Amsterdam 1672), can be illustrated by some sheets in the Prussian State Library [Libr. pict. A. 91] and the Ethnographical Museum in Berlin; they show the portraits of Mādana Pandita, Ibrāhīm and 'Alī 'Ādilshāh, the Marāṭha king Śivajī,[66] etc. (Fig. 15).

Of the southernmost branch of this art in Tanjore a representation of a state procession was, at least, three years ago, in the hands of Messrs. Friederichsen and Co., booksellers, Hamburg. It would take too much space to deal at length here with the albums of popular types and costumes which come from Pondicherry and which anyhow must have been influenced by the Tanjore School; examples of these are to be found both in the Ethnographical Museum,[75] Berlin, and in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.[76]

III. RĀJPUT PAINTINGS

a. Early Rājasthānī Style of the Seventeenth Century

Germany does not possess anything comparable with the three monumental series of Rājput primitives published by Coomaraswamy and now scattered among different museums. Nevertheless, the album acquired among other bad miniatures[77] by the Great Elector, now in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek [Libr. pict. A. 11] contains twelve sheets of a relatively early Rāgmālā-series[78] of only mediocre quality executed in the second decade of the seventeenth century.

---

[70] Goetz, Münchner Miniaturen . . ., p. 63 f., Zeitschrift für Historische Waffen und Kostümkunde, New Series, Vol. II, No. 2, page 35, 1926.

[71] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Plate 42.

[72] Idem, Plate 37.

[73] Kühnel, Plate 104.

[74] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Plate 38.

[75] A. Grünwedel, *Indische Albums*, Berliner Museen: Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen, Vol. 41, No. 4, page 164 ff., 1920; Baessler-Archiv I, page 143 ff., 1911.

[76] Cod. Or. Mixt. 49.

[77] For instance H. v. Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus*, Plate 29, Munich, 1922.

[78] Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. X, page 45 ff., 1923.

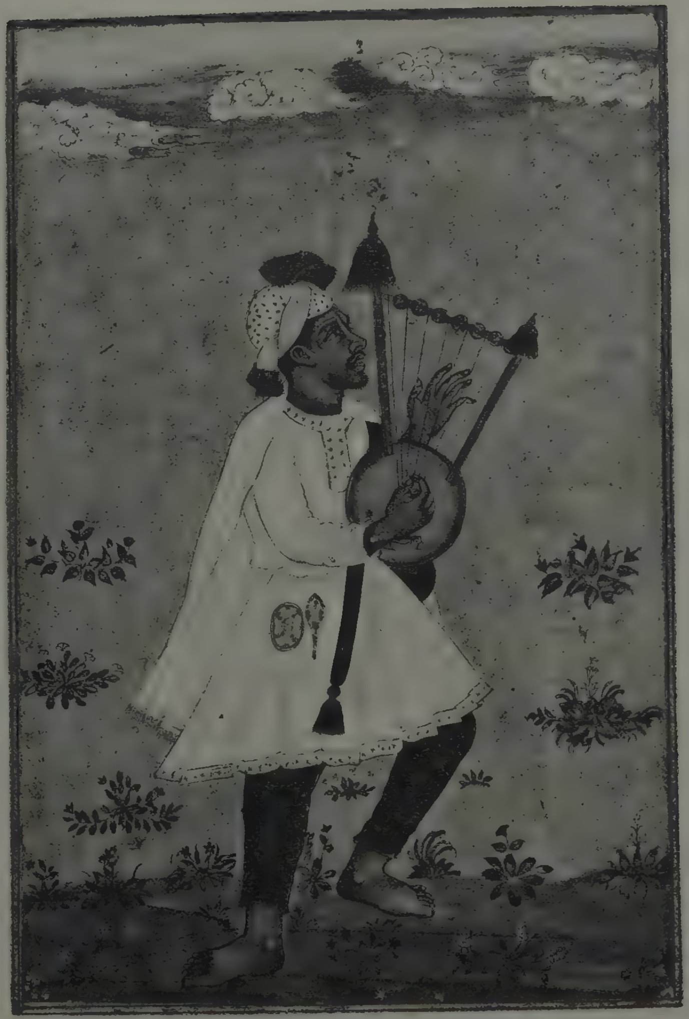


FIG. 14. NEGRO MUSICIAN, SIDI SA'D.
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
Goldschmidt Collection, Berlin

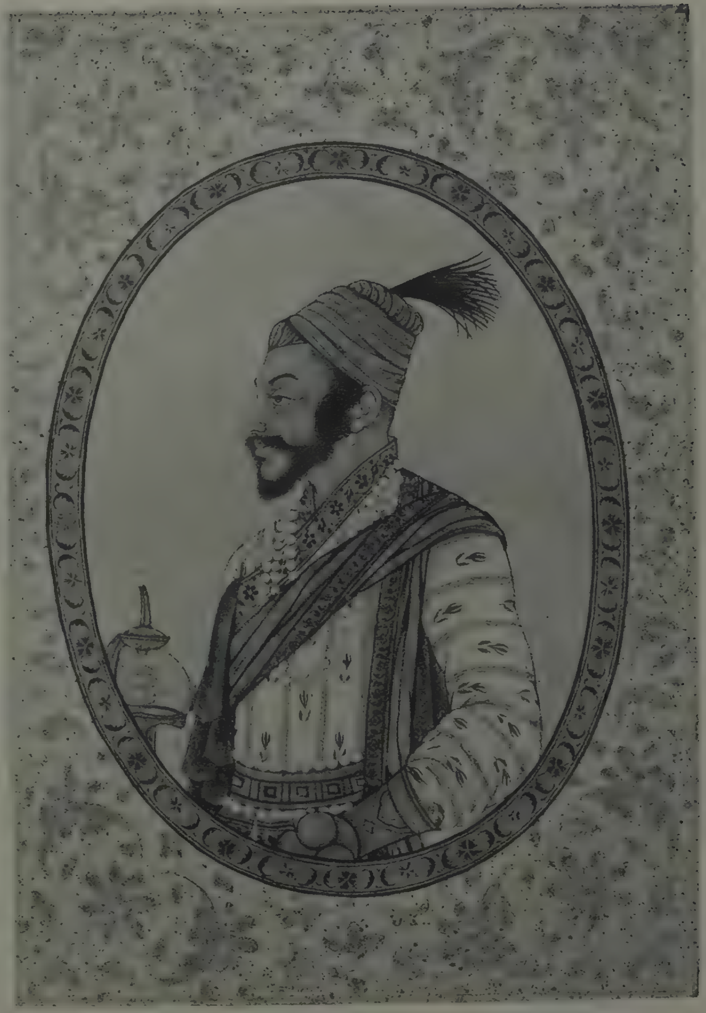


FIG. 15. ŚIVAJĪ, FOUNDER OF THE MARĀTHA EMPIRE.
DEKHANĪ PAINTING, ABOUT 1700
Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Berlin

PLATE XCIX. *Goetz: Indian Miniatures in German Collections*

b. RĀJASTHĀNĪ STYLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Examples of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are more copious. Apart from some single Rāginī illustrations, the only complete manuscript of this class is the Rāgmālā of the Ethnographical Museum, Berlin[79] [I. C. 24336] [Fig. 9]; besides some single Rāginī illustrations;[80] its sheets bear little labels, its style is the somewhat stiff, yet very pure manner of the years between 1720–1730—perhaps Jaipur or Jodhpur. The Sarre Collection as well contains quite a number of small and large portraits from Jaipur, about the middle of the century;[81] Mrs. Schneider-Kainer possesses also some very beautiful sketches and jhillī poses, portraits and groups of men and ladies hunting, playing (Fig. 8), bathing, and at the toilette, some very vivid combats between camels and elephants, and one extraordinarily charming genre-picture of a Virahinī Nāyikā.

c. RĀJASTHĀNĪ STYLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the following century this Jaipur style retained its old height for some time, yet it was differentiated by softer execution and more erotic subjects. An 'Enthronement of Rāma' in Munich[82] is in part a replica of a painting in Calcutta published by Havell.[83] The Grassi Museum in Leipsic owns a splendid night panorama of the ladies' palace of a rāja; the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, possesses the only Rāgmālā series (Fig. 10) with added verses in Hindī[84] [No. 1474, five sheets] to be found in Germany. A well-executed equestrian portrait and an interesting erotic picture are in the collection of Professor H. von Glasenapp in Königsberg, several bathing scenes with an erotic accent in the collection of Mrs. Schneider-Kainer; and in this latter collection, too, are some fine head studies closely related to the famous group of Rādhā and Krishna dancing, published by Coomaraswamy,[85] and also some votive paintings of Śrīnāthajī, a far-famed idol of Krishna on Nāthadwāra mountain in Jodhpur. There are some other representations of this same subject in the Glasenapp Collection.

d. EARLY PAHĀRĪ STYLE (BASOHLI) OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Since the artistic qualities of early Rājput art were discovered only during the last two decades, the sole German collection that includes some examples of the archaic local school of Basohli is that of the Ethnographical Museum in Munich.[86] These examples are two paintings having a yellow ground on which green beetle-wings are pasted on, the subjects are Balarāma tearing the Yamunā with a plough and a lady with two servant girls smoking the water-pipe.

e. PAHĀRĪ STYLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES (BASOHLI AND KĀṄGRĀ SCHOOL)

The remaining miniatures[87] of the Munich Museum essentially appertain to the classical art of Sansār Chand of Kāṅgrā-Nadāun; only a little miniature[88] of a group of women celebrating Vishnu's service before a Śaligrām idol on a Garuda stand of bronze, which is so characteristic of the hill-states, may be a late representative of the Basohli school (eighteenth century). There are to be found all the usual motives of classical Kāṅgrā painting; the Tantric (Kālī-Durgā), Śaiva, Krishnaite and Nāyikā-Bheda cycles are here represented by excellent examples. Certain ones might be regarded as secular subjects, such as a rānī reading at night in a water pavilion

---

[79] Sattar Kheiri, Plate 38; Rückert and Nobel, *Hundert Strophen des Amaru*, pages 15, 27, 41, Hannover, 1925; Goetz and Ilse-Munk, *Gedichte aus der indischen Liebesmystik*, Plates 6 and 7, Leipsic, 1925; Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, New Series, Vol. I, No. 2, pages 119 ff.

[80] Rückert and Glasenapp, *Indische Liebeslyrik*, pages 64, 112, Munich, 1921, and *Hinduismus*, Plate 7.

[81] Kühnel, op. cit., Plates 153–154.

[82] Goetz, *Münchner Miniaturen*, page 67.

[83] *Indian Sculpture and Painting*, Plate 52, London, 1907.

[84] Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, New Series, Vol. I, No. 2, pages 119 ff.

[85] Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. II, Plates 1–3, London, 1912.

[86] Goetz, *Münchner Miniaturen*, pages 69 ff.

[87] Idem, page 73 ff.

[88] Idem, page 72 ff.

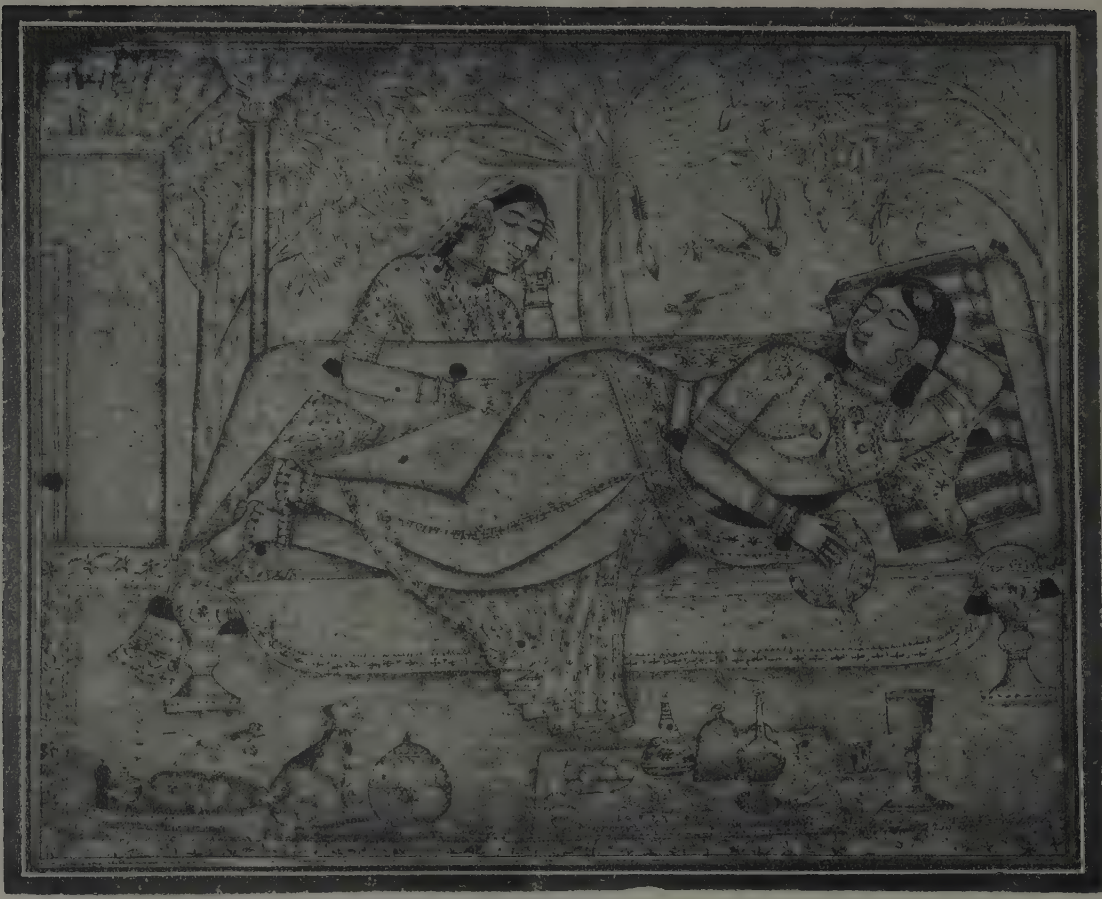


FIG. 16. HINDU WOMAN SLEEPING. HAIDARĀBĀD, DEKHAN. EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY
Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin

of her zenanah apartments, and the not yet identified portraits of two rānīs named, perhaps, Pāglā and Kānedayaki.

Of still higher quality are the miniatures and drawings of the Schneider-Kainer Collection. Space does not permit us to enumerate all the single subjects or special values of each particular example. But among them are as many as five excellent miniatures from a series of illustrations to Kālidāsa's poem 'Kumārasambhava' till now lost with the exception of a single sheet published by Coomaraswamy,[89] which is closely related to the famous Nala and Damayanti cycle. These paintings[90] celebrate the desire of the mountain's daughter for the love of Śiva, the nuptials of the divine couple (Fig. 13), and their loving union which has been made famous by the great poet's marvelous descriptions of nature's beauties. Further, among the uncoloured drawings there are some rare illustrations to the Rāmāyana, a great number of sketches appertaining to the legend of Krishna, especially those of his infancy,[91] a drawing of the Gītāgovinda (Fig. 12) and two pictures belonging to a Yoga text, as well as five Nayika designs with added verses—of these there are two other ones in the Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, these seven being the only examples of this kind to be found in Germany. Among those in colour, are some sheets of only small artistic value, but of the greatest historical interest for students of Hindu religion. They show the monkey king Hanuman, the general of god Rāma during the Lankā war, in a tantric form with all the heads of Vishnu's avatāras and all their emblems in his innumerable hands. A tantric sect of Vishnuism has not been until now known. Another painting excellent in composition and colour—violets and orange—is a 'Kakubha Rāginī' in the possession of Professor Sarre,[92] and a fine group of Rādhā and Krishna (perhaps Gaṛhwāl) belonging to Professor von Glasenapp of Königsberg.[93]

The miniatures brought back by the brothers Schlagintweit which are now in the Ethnographical Museum, Berlin, belong to the latest phases of the Kāngrā School and are of minor importance. Most of these paintings only too clearly show the rapid decay of the art and even the best examples are somewhat effeminate and overloaded. Outstanding among the latter is a group of Siva and Pārvati[94] with their family in the Himālya mountains. Other pictures of fairly good quality are two 'Enthronements of Rāma and Sītā,[95] Vishnu's feet (pāda) in a temple pavilion cooled by the fans of two celestial nymphs;[96] the 'Hour of Cowdust' (Godhuli),[97] a 'Toilet of Rādhā,'[98] a 'Dutikā bringing a message of love to Rādhā,' and an 'Abhisārikā.'[99] These are some other paintings that perhaps deserve mention: some Nāyikas[100] (Fig. 11), a maiden seeking to rescue her parrot from the claws of a cat,[101] a rānī watching a thunderstorm,[102] and a few others.[103] Two cycles of illustrations to the Gītāgovinda and Rāmāyana[104] and the representation of a yogī with the chakras of meditation[105] are at least of some interest because of the subjects with which they deal.

---

[89] Coomaraswamy, *Rajput Painting*, Plate 63, 1916.

[90] Goetz, *Illustrationen zu Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava aus dem westlichen Himālaya*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, New Series, Vol. V, No. 4, page 149 ff.

[91] Die Woche, September 7, 1929.

[92] Springer, *History of Fine Art*, Vol. VI, Plate VI, Leipsic, 1929.

[93] Glasenapp, *Der Hinduismus*, Plate 27, Munich, 1922.

[94] Idem, Plate 43.

[95] Idem, Plates 14 and 36.

[96] Idem, Plate 6.

[97] Idem, Plate 14.

[98] Cicerone, Vol. XV, No. 9, page 425.

[99] Goetz and Ilse-Munk, *Gedichte aus der indischen Liebesmystik*, Plate 1, Leipsic, 1925.

[100] Idem, Plate 10.

[101] Idem, Plate 11.

[102] Rückert and Glasenapp, *Indische Liebeslyrik*, page 96, Munich, 1921.

[103] Glasenapp, *Hinduismus*, Plate 2, 21; Rückert and Glasenapp, op. cit., pages 128, 160.

[104] Glasenapp, *Indische Literatur*, Potsdam, 1928.

[105] Glasenapp, *Hinduismus*, Plate 30; *Illustrations to a Devī-Mahātmya in Private Possession*, Idem, Plates 16–19, 28.

f. Sikh Style

The Schlagintweit Collection contains, however, plenty of miniatures from the times of the Sikh rule.[106] Of course, these include portraits of Ranjīt Singh of Lahore and Karakh Singh, Dhyān Singh and Gulāb Singh and many of the other prominent people of the Sikh Court, either as single portraits or in durbār,[107] or visiting an elephant combat, and so forth. Beside these some scenes of harīm life may be cited, sharply differentiated from the aristocratic romanticism of Kāngrā art by their lascivious realism, especially a painting (which even the artist himself, Ustād Perīm Singh Pīr, has described as 'unheard of') depicting almost every sexual perversion invented by either Eastern or Western libertines.[108] Some further paintings of this period belong to the Schneider-Kainer Collection, a very impressive group of musicians and an elephant with his keeper,[109] as well as some other good drawings: a rāja's ride, a girl and a youth endeavouring to catch each other (perhaps Rādhā-Krishna), and a number of portraits. Three large pictures of Ranjīt Singh, Karakh Singh and Gulāb Singh in the Munich Museum possess scarcely any artistic merits.

g. Kāshmīrī style (Pahārī manner)

Besides the Mughal-Kāshmīrī style of illuminated manuscripts and lacquer work another school existed, which anyhow must be a relative of Kāṅgrā art and perhaps may have branched off during the early eighteenth century. A collection of paintings of this school,[110] executed by a certain pundit Bastirām, were brought to Munich by the brothers Schlagintweit, and include a rich manuscript-roll of the Tantric work Shatchakranirūpana, and a large number of small illustrations to the Purāṇas and other religious subjects of local Kāshmīrī Śaivism. Of a somewhat different kind—that is, more elaborate and delicate in design, more vivid in colouring (perhaps influenced by the above-mentioned Kāshmīrī type) are the illustrations of a Śaiva Purāṇa[111] in the possession of Mrs. Schneider-Kainer.

---

[106] Idem, Plate 38. Reitzenstein, *Liebe und Ehe im Alten Orient*, Fig. 50, Stuttgart, 1909.

[107] Jahrbuch der Asiatischen Kunst, Plate 29.

[108] Reitzenstein, op. cit., Fig. 51; the illustration is bad and its explanation partly incorrect.

[109] Die Woche, September 7, 1929.

[110] Goetz, *Münchner Miniaturen*, page 84 ff., Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, New Series, Vol. I, No. 2, page 119 ff.

[111] Die Woche, September 7, 1929.

EARLY VAISHNAVA MINIATURE PAINTINGS FROM WESTERN INDIA

By W. NORMAN BROWN

[Author's Note: Dr. Coomaraswamy has been kind enough to read over this article in manuscript and give me the benefit of his criticism.

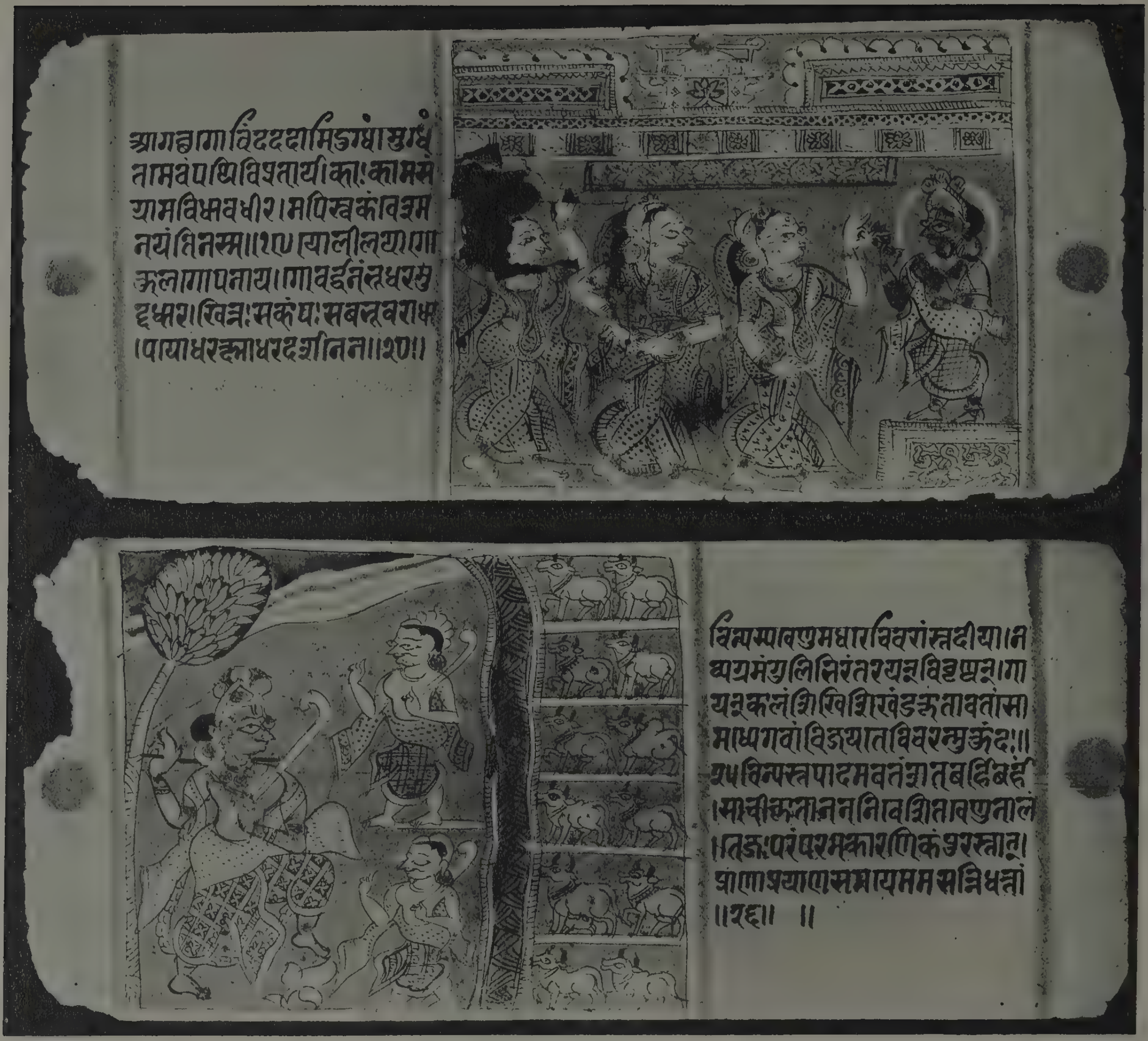
After I had completed the following article on this series of miniatures, I saw a brief note on the same series by Mr. O. C. Gangoly, who had seen the manuscript before it left India for America. The note is published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. IV, Parts 1 and 2, July and October, 1929 (but published Rajahmundry, 1930), pages 86–88. Mr. Gangoly rightly considers the present manuscript closely related in style to that of the Vasanta Vilāsa (see below), which is dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1508, that is, 1451 A.D. (he inadvertently writes it 1431 A.D.), thinks it earlier than the Vasanta Vilāsa MS, on account of its "plastic and aesthetic qualities," and says, "The MS must undoubtedly be taken to date not later than the middle of the fifteenth century." My own date is about the middle of the fifteenth century. Mr. Gangoly had noticed the colophon on Folio 21 (see my discussion), which he calls "the last page." It is, of course, not the last page, since the page numbers actually run in the preserved folios to 59, and how much farther in the complete work we cannot say. He misreads several words in the colophon, especially *mādha(va)* for *māgha* (where, in addition to a misreading, he makes an unwarranted emendation; for no Mādhava Purāṇa is known to him). He does not report on the subject matter of the text or the paintings: "I had not the opportunity to examine the text minutely, the point of view of my study being aesthetic, rather than literary, or linguistic." He agrees, however, in thinking that the Purāṇa mentioned on Folio 21 "may have been an anthology collection, or encyclopedia of Vaishnava hymns, in which the Bāla-Gopāla stutih found an honourable place, for the hymn is glorified as the Word or Message of the Lord himself (*Bhagavat Vākyam*)." He promises to publish elsewhere a study of the pictorial style on a comparative basis (with the Vasanta Vilāsa), and it is to be hoped that he will do so, for such a study should be very valuable.]

A series of forty early Vaishnava miniature paintings is contained on thirty-eight scattered folios of a fifteenth century paper manuscript from Western India recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. These paintings present the earliest known examples of book illustration on paper as yet brought to light from an environment which is specifically Hindu rather than Buddhist or Jaina, and at the same time constitute the most ancient surviving series of paintings illustrating the Krishna story, a cycle copiously represented in late mediæval Indian sculpture and in Rajput miniature painting from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The discovery of this series therefore may justly be considered of prime importance in the history of painting in India.

The text which the miniatures illustrate is unfortunately only fragmentary in the manuscript, and the colophon of the entire work does not appear on any of the leaves belonging to the Museum. The work ran to more than fifty-nine folios, since Folio 59 is among those preserved, but how many more there were originally it is impossible to say. So, too, it contained at least three hundred and twelve stanzas. The following folios are present containing the stanzas indicated: Folios 6 to 9 (stanzas 19 to 41); 12 (53 to 60); 14 to 19 (65 to 102); 21 (108 to 112); 23 and 24 (119 to 126); 27 and 28 (139 to 149); 30 to 33 (156 to 175); 35 (180 to 184); 38 to 42 (198 to 225); 44 to 48 (231 to 258); 50 to 54 (265 to 290); 56 (?—296); 59 (308 to 312). Of these folios many have holes in them at points where the paper was weakened by the action of the paint—in some cases these are so large as to deprive us of almost half the text on the opposite side, as in Folios 53 and 56.

At one point there is information concerning the authorship of part of the work. On Folio 21, *recto* (Figure 14) there appears as stanza 109 the following: *iti śrī-paramahaṁsa-pravrājaka-Śrīpāda-Bilvamañgala-viracitā śrī-Bālagopālastutiḥ. iti Māghapurāṇe Bhagavadvākyam.* "Thus the Bālagopālastuti (Praise of the Youthful Krishna) composed by the reverend ascetic Paramahaṁsa Śrīpāda Bilvamañgala. Thus the Bhagavadvākya in the Māgha Purāṇa."

The first part of this statement indicates clearly that the preceding stanzas constitute a work entitled "Bālagopālastuti" (Praise of the Youthful Kirshna), composed by Bilvamañgala, but it does not say whether the entire one hundred and eight stanzas or only a part of them are meant. In fact the second part of the statement might imply that only a part of the preceding one hundred and eight stanzas compose the Bālagopālastuti, and that this work, together with some others not named in stanza 109, constitute the Bhagavadvākya, a section of the Māgha Purāṇa.



FIGS. 1 AND 2

PLATE CI. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

Bilvamañgala is already known to students of India's literary history. According to Professor Winternitz he lived during the eleventh century, according to Mr. M. Ramakrishna Kavi during the thirteenth.[1] Mr. Kavi, whose remarks are much fuller than those of Professor Winternitz, says that Bilvamañgala is also known in South India as Kṛṣṇalīlāśuka or Līlāśuka, and that many regions claim him; Mr. Kavi himself seems to incline toward Malabar. In endeavoring to fix Bilvamañgala's dates, Mr. Kavi shows that the outside limits are 1060 and 1350; then making an investigation of authors quoted in works ascribed to Bilvamañgala or Līlāśuka finds that the latest of these is Bopadeva (or, Vopadeva) who flourished about 1250. He concludes, therefore, that Bilvamañgala must have lived between 1250 and 1350. Mr. Kavi describes Bilvamañgala as distinguished for his intense devotion to Krishna, and calls him the Jayadeva of the South. He remarks, "A number of works on various subjects have come to light which bear his authorship; in Sanskrit and Prakrit grammar, Upanishads, Tantras, Kavyas, and devotional lyrics his works are now extant . . . Many of these lyrics are the finest in the language." This praise is perhaps a little strong, although Bilvamañgala was evidently an excellent poet. Mr. Kavi does not furnish a list of Bilvamañgala's works known to him, although he mentions a few by name. Among these is the Kṛṣṇakarṇāmṛta ("Nectar for Krishna's Ear"), which is also known to Professor Winternitz. Neither of these scholars mentions the Bālagopālastuti, although Mr. Kavi knows a Bālakṛṣṇastotra. Two other works ascribed to Bilvamañgala, not mentioned by either Winternitz or Kavi, are the Govindadāmodarastotra ("Song of Praise to Govinda Dāmodara, that is, Krishna Bound-by-the-Belly") and the Govindāikaviṅśatikā (Twenty-one Stanzas to Govinda")[2].

The name of the Māgha Purāṇa does not appear in the histories of Sanskrit literature, but a work by that name is mentioned by Burnell,[3] who groups it and a number of other manuscripts under the heading "Māhātmya" with the prefatory note: "There can be no doubt that most of these are very recent forgeries; they are all intended to show that celebrated events in Hindu Mythology took place at particular localities, the names of which have been transferred from Northern to Southern India." The Māghapurāṇa is described (*11,272*) as written in the Grantha character, one hundred and nineteen leaves, thirty-seven *adhyāyas*. This is not likely to be our work, since ours does not appear to belong to the *māhātmya* type, which is devoted to illustrating the sacred character of pilgrimage points.

Nor is it probable that our work was composed by the celebrated poet Māgha, although possibly the manuscript means us to think it was. This poet probably lived during the seventh century A.D.,[4] many centuries before Bilvamañgala, whose Bālagopālastuti is mentioned beside the Māgha Purāṇa.

Our manuscript is written entirely in Sanskrit verse, with a leaning toward the rhetorical. It shows considerable variety of metre; without endeavoring to be exhaustive I have noticed Upajāti, Vasantatilaka, Mañjubhāṣiṇī, Pṛthvī, Mandākrāntā, Śvāgatā, Mālinī, Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Jagatī, and Śloka, of which Upajāti and Vasantatilaka are the most frequent. The state of the text is bad. The copyist often seems not to have understood the subject matter, and corruptions are many; and the numerous holes in the pages leave lacunæ in the text that cannot be restored, while, of course, many folios are missing. Without other manuscripts an edition of the text is obviously impossible.

The theme of the text is loving adoration (*bhakti*) of Krishna, and the text fits in with the great wave of Vishnu worship that swept India during the late mediæval

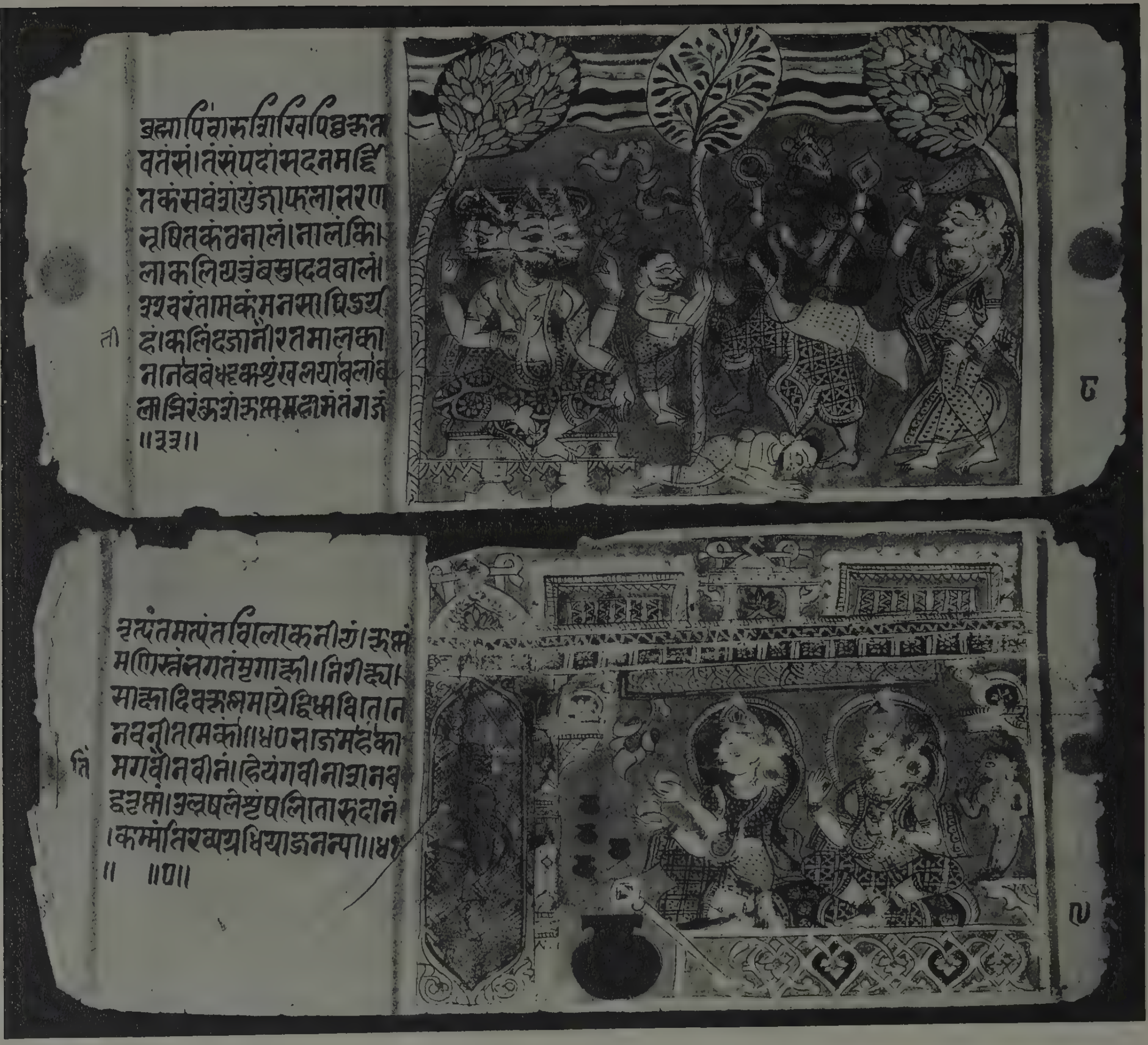
---

[1] Winternitz, *Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Vol. III, page 124; M. Rāmakrishna Kavi in the *Quarterly Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. III, Part 1, July, 1928, pages 66–71.

[2] Both mentioned in Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, Vol. III, page 36.

[3] A. C. Burnell, *Classified Index to the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Palace of Tanjore*. (Three parts: London, 1879–80), Part 3, page 195.

[4] Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, page 124.



FIGS. 3 AND 4

PLATE CII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings* period. Parts of the Bhagavad Gītā, which is of course much earlier, exhibit the same feeling, although the full richness of devotion to Krishna appears only in the Sanskrit and vernacular literature of late mediæval and Mug͟hal times.[5] Our text is an interesting and typical illustration of this type of composition, adoring the Lord both as the youthful, beautiful, sportive corporeal deity and as the great pantheistic principle in which the soul of man must lose itself.

The place of execution of the manuscript, both text and paintings, was somewhere in Western India, that is the region including Gujarat, Kathiawar, and western Rajputana. This is evident from the script employed, which is the variety of Devanāgarī commonly used for inscriptions and manuscripts in Western India during the mediæval and Mug͟hal periods, and the style of the paintings, which is the Western Indian style, otherwise called "Jaina," "Gujarat," "Śvetāmbara."[6]

The date of execution of the manuscript is not given on any of the folios in the Museum of Fine Arts; nevertheless, various considerations indicate that it was probably about the middle of the fifteenth century. The following points bear upon the question.

Early Western Indian miniature painting falls naturally into two periods, the palm-leaf and the paper.[7] The earliest known dated examples, which are of course on palm-leaf manuscripts, come from the year 1127,[8] and the palm-leaf period continues down into the late fourteenth century. All the miniatures of this period are found in Śvetāmbara Jain manuscripts. The paintings are executed in small rectangular panels (*ālekhyasthāna*) left in the text, a little wider than deep, the subjects being Tīrthankaras (Saviours) monks, kings, queens, patrons who paid for the copying of the manuscripts, gods, goddesses, and lay worshippers. There is during this period, so far as I know, no case of illustrating the events of a story. The art shows comparatively few types, and the compositions are relatively uncomplicated except where the artist is copying scenes well established in sculpture, such as the *gajalakṣmī* (deity with heavenly elephants) motif. The drawing is on somewhat larger lines than in the later, paper period. The range of colours is narrow, those employed being red, yellow, blue, white, and green. Certain characteristics of the art are evident: the line of the drawing is very angular; the poses are only three—one with bilateral symmetry shows a cross-legged seated figure with face directed squarely to the front, and is confined to representations of Tīrthankaras; the second is a standing pose with the face turned to something less than full profile and usually with ankle and hip joints bent; and the third is an easy seated pose with the face again turned to something less than full profile. The second and third poses are used with all subjects except Tīrthankaras. Wherever the face is turned to the side the farther eye always protrudes beyond the contour of the cheek into space.

Before 1400 paper came into use in Western India as a surface for writing, and it soon supplanted palm-leaf. Dated Śvetāmbara Jain paper manuscripts with illustrations are known from early in the fifteenth century. With the use of paper as a surface for writing and painting, development took place in the character of the miniatures. The size and shape of the folios were altered, the paper folio being deeper than the palm-leaf, and the proportions and actual size of the miniatures were varied. Gold was added to the colour scheme, usually displacing the older yellow, and as in the

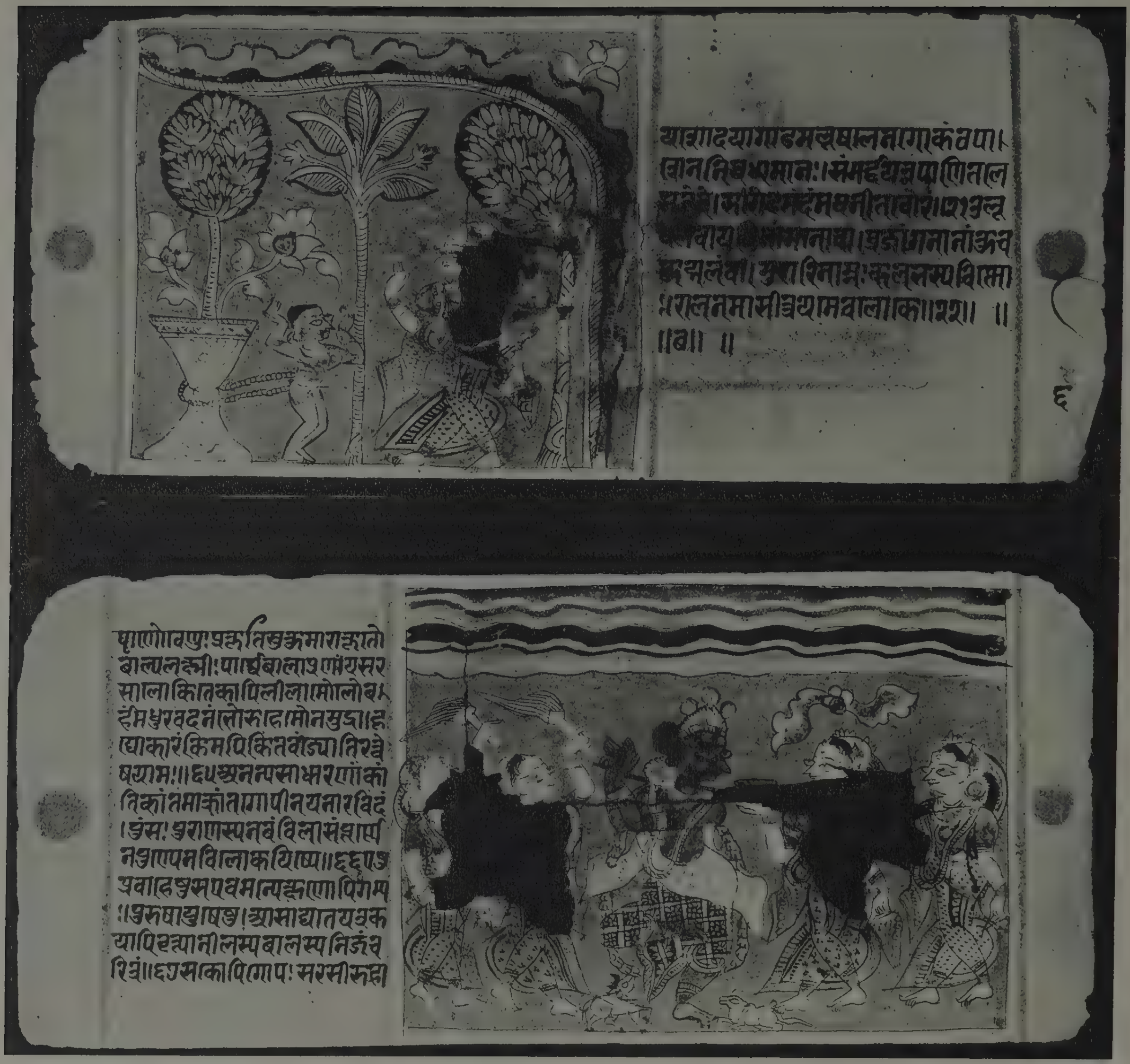
---

[5] Examples of this important literature from the Marathi region are being published in text with most readable English translation by Justin E. Abbott in an extensive series called *The Poet-Saints of Maharashtra* (Poona: Scottish Mission Industries Press, or to be ordered from Dr. J. E. Abbott, Summit, N. J.). At least six volumes have already appeared (1927–30), and many more are planned.

[6] The chief literature on this style of paintings is: Huttemann, *Bässler Archiv*, 1913, Bd. II.2; Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, *Boston*, *Part IV*, *Jaina Paintings and Manuscripts*, 1924; N. C. Mehta, a chapter in his *Studies in Indian Painting*, Bombay, 1927; Ajit Ghose, *Artibus Asiæ*, 1927, pages 187ff and 278ff; v. Glasenapp, plates in his *Jainismus*, Berlin, 1925; W. Norman Brown, *Indian Art and Letters*, 1929, pages 16ff; Coomaraswamy, *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, *Boston*, February, 1930, pages 7ff; and a further article by Dr. Coomaraswamy in the present issue of *Eastern Art*.

[7] This same subject is discussed more fully in a paper *Miniature Painting among the Jains* which I am contributing to the forthcoming special jubilee number of the *Jaina Gazette* (Madras).

[8] See my paper in *Indian Art and Letters*, 1929, pages 16ff.



FIGS. 5 AND 6

PLATE CIII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings* case of the manuscript under discussion here a kind of old rose appears. New subjects are depicted, and new postures are illustrated, as a standing full face posture of Tīrthankaras, a half-kneeling posture, and an almost full face posture without protruding eye for the foreign (Persian) Sāhis of the Śvetāmbara Kālakācāryakathā manuscripts. More complicated compositions appear, the drawing becomes more delicate, and a full-fledged narrative illustration is developed by the Śvetāmbara Jains in the case of the Kalpasūtra, also called Paryuṣaṇakalpa, dealing, among other things, with the lives of the Tīrthankaras and illustrating them, and in the Kālakācāryakathā, with the story of the master Kālaka. These Śvetāmbara illustrations become clichés, with set compositions that are repeated many times almost unvaried in the different manuscripts. The pages are often highly decorative, the background for the text, even in the earliest dated specimens, being done in colour, and the text itself written in golden ink, while around the edges of the folios are ornamental borders of widely varied geometrical patterns.[9]

The art also appears outside the Śvetāmbara milieu. A secular roll manuscript of a text called the Vasantavilāsa, dated equivalent to 1451, has been reported and some of the scenes reproduced in black and white,[10] and now this Vaishnava manuscript has been discovered. In neither of these two do the scenes seem to be clichés.

Our manuscript appears to come from a time fairly early in the paper period. The pages are small (about nine and one-quarter by four and one-eighth inches over all), thus approaching the length of the short-leaved variety of palm-leaf manuscripts, although having greater depth. (As a general rule, the older paper manuscripts among the Śvetāmbara Jains are smaller than the later). The appearance of the pages is one of age, being less fresh than is the case with those sixteenth century paper manuscripts which, like this, are written in black ink on a plain surface. No gold is used and the ratio of width to depth in these paintings is the same as that of the palm-leaf paintings, although the dimensions are greater. These last characteristics, it is true, are not in themselves indicative of much; for our oldest dated Śvetāmbara manuscripts use gold and show a different ratio of dimensions from that of the palm-leaf examples. Yet taken in conjunction with the other points mentioned, they lend plausibility to an early dating of the manuscript. Some time about 1450 seems a fair guess, while a date as much as fifty years later, or even one fifty years earlier, although possible, would be open to question unless confirmed by unimpeachable evidence.

In style the paintings of our manuscript conform well to the earlier and contemporary Śvetāmbara miniatures. The same angularity of the drawing is present, and an even greater poverty of facial pose, for the face is always represented in that pose which shows slightly less than full profile with the farther eye protruding beyond the cheek line. The only seated posture is the easy seat with one leg hanging down before the throne or seat; crossed legs never occur. The half kneeling posture is also present. The standing postures, however, are more numerous and more free, especially as they illustrate various attitudes of the dance, and thus the artist can depict a wider range of movement in his scenes. There is also a lying posture, very indifferently executed (Folio 40, *recto*), which is really a standing posture turned sideways.

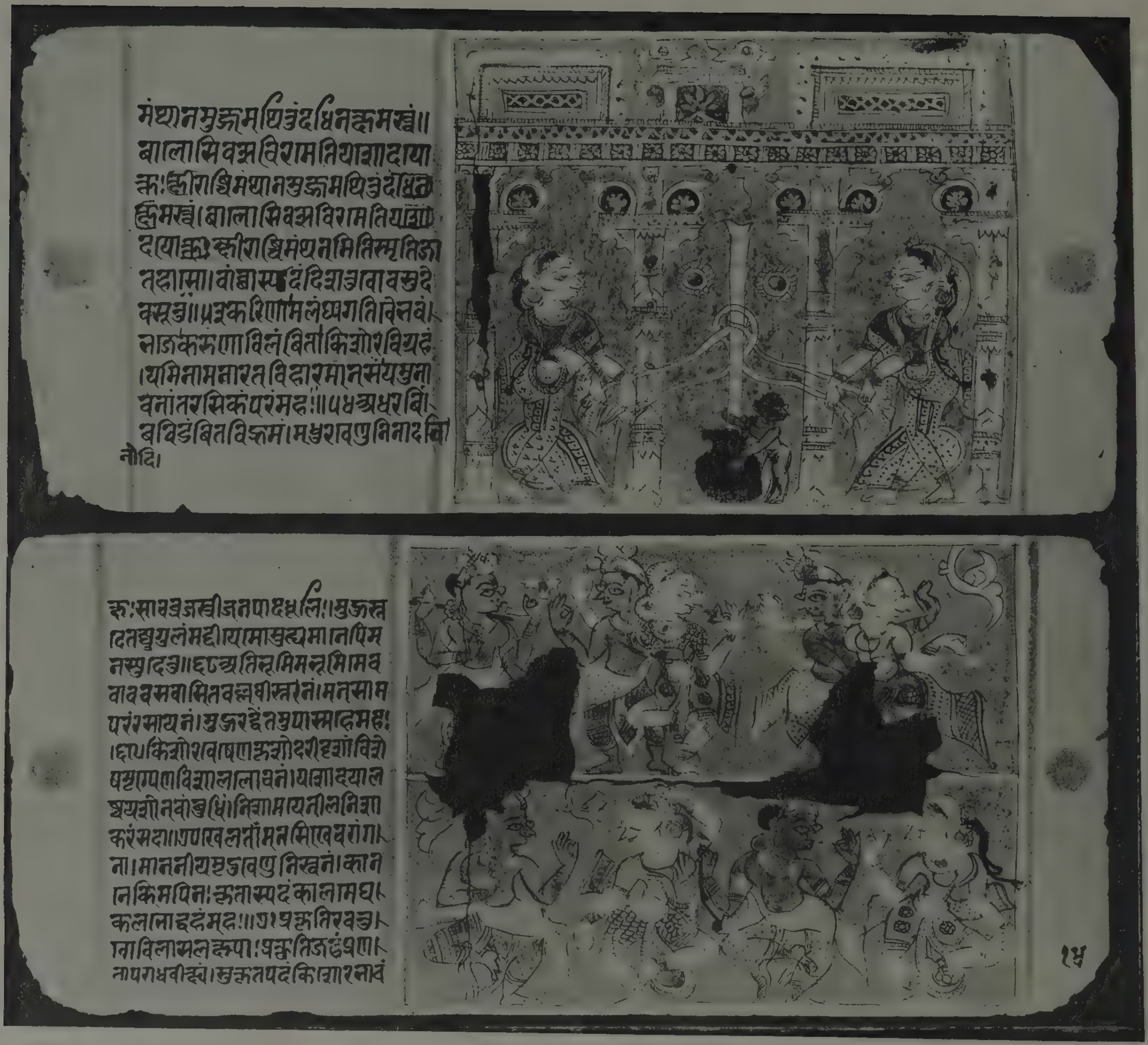
The human figure, in addition to sharing the angularity evident in Śvetāmbara painting, also shows the same exaggerated treatment of the breasts so characteristic of the paper Śvetāmbara miniatures. Both sexes are so represented, with the curves of the breasts being equally full, but the distinction between male and female is very clear. In the male only the farther breast is drawn in; in the female both are.

Certain types are very closely analogous to types appearing in Śvetāmbara paintings. Human personages of distinction, such as Vasudeva (Folio 30) and others

---

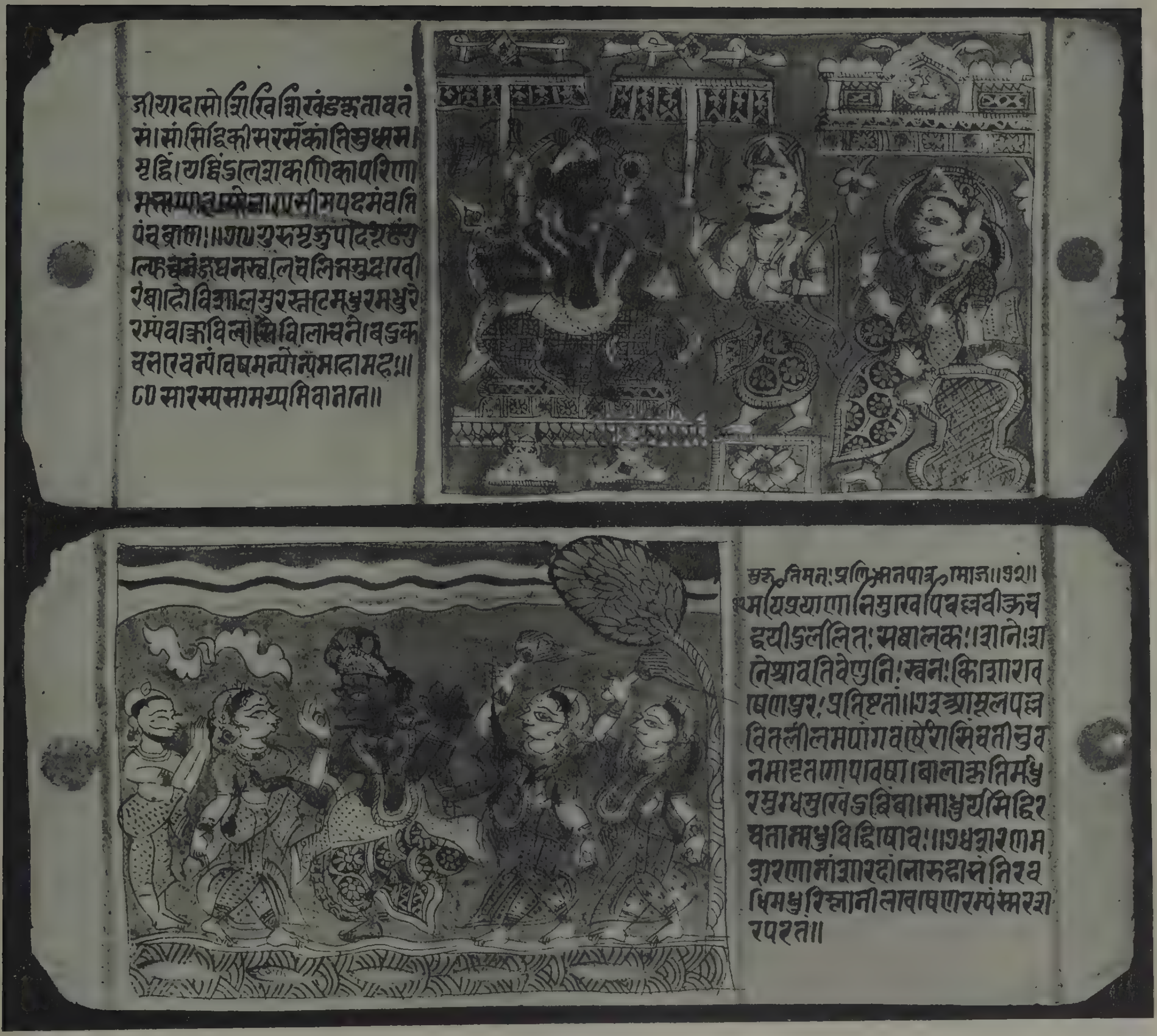
[9] For an illustration see the final plate in v. Glasenapp, *Jainismus.*

[10] N. C. Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting,* and *Rūpam,* Numbers 22–23, 1925, and O. C. Gangoly, *Ostasiatische Zeitung,* N. F. 2, 1925.



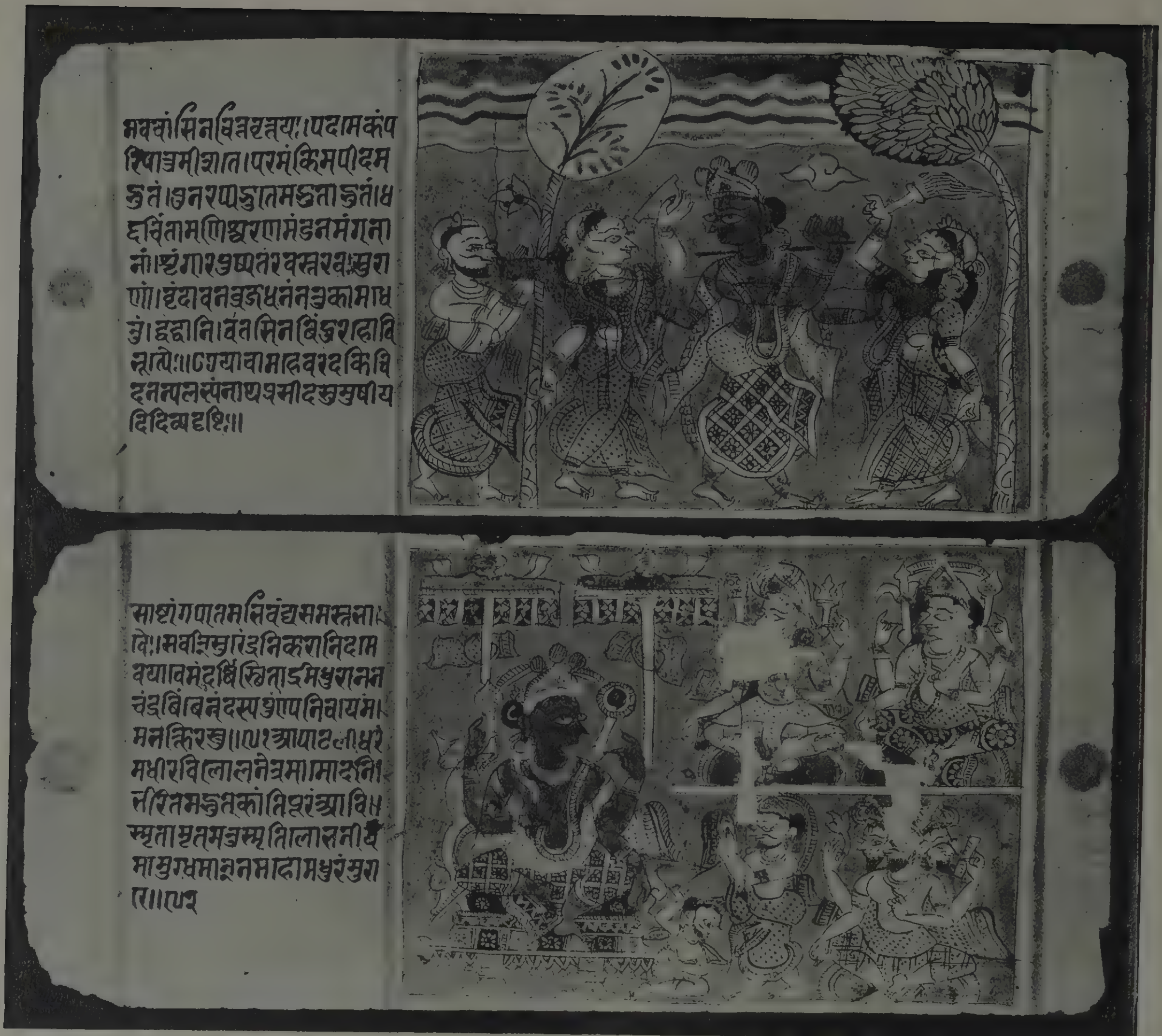
FIGS. 7 AND 8

PLATE CIV. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*



FIGS. 9 AND 10

PLATE CV. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*



FIGS. 11 AND 12

PLATE CVI. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

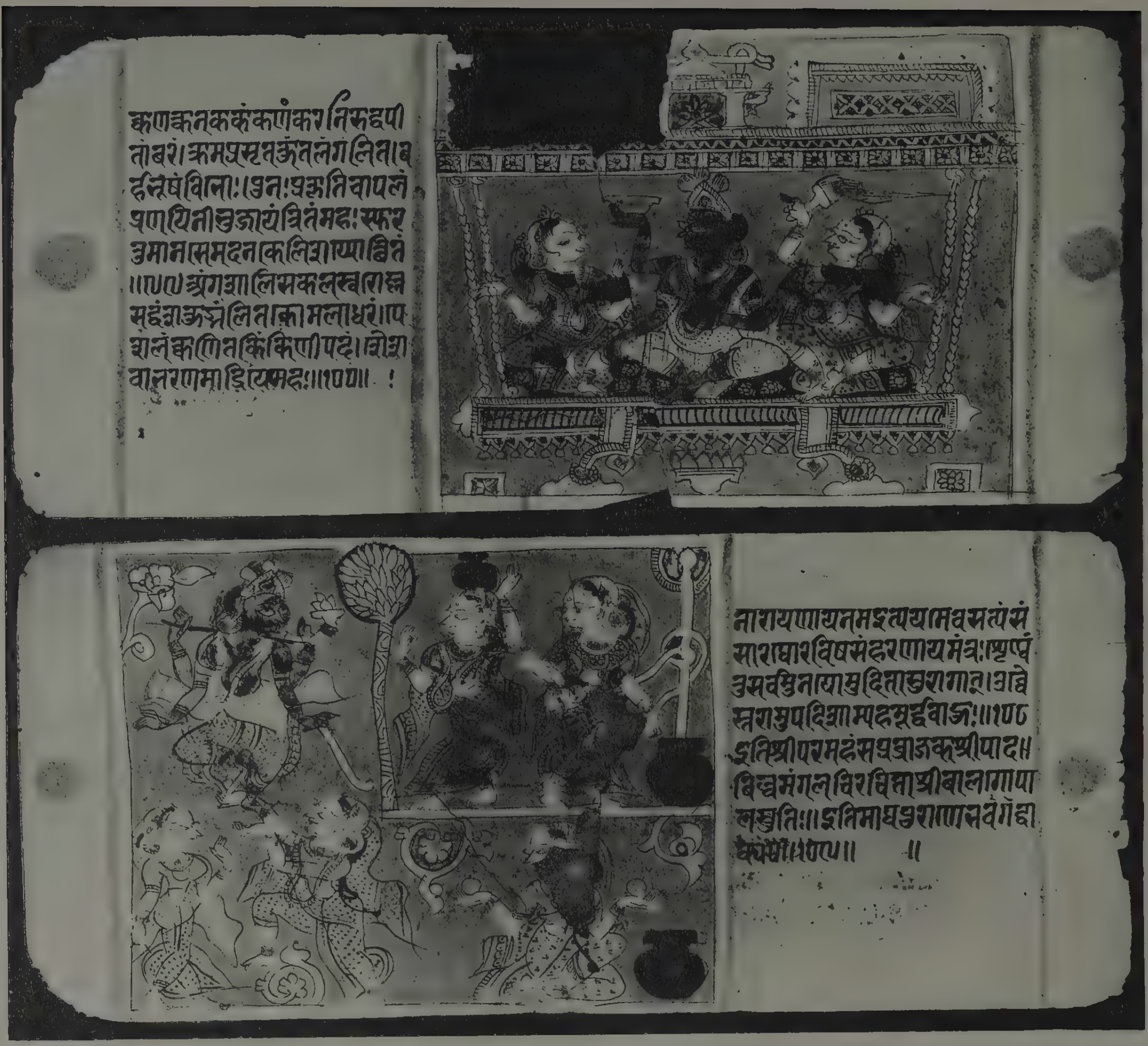
(Folios 32 and 46) are practically identical in dress and characteristics with Indian kings in the Śvetāmbara paintings. Indra (Folio 18) is the Śvetāmbara Indra, and Krishna is that same Indra with the addition of Krishna's characteristic many-pointed headdress. The bearded royal type of the Śvetāmbara miniatures also appears in the case of deities, as Rāma (Folios 24 and 59) and even Kāma, the god of love (Folio 16), but with an additional element in the treatment of the hair (see below). Female figures are also those of the Śvetāmbara paintings. The halo is frequently present, again as in the Śvetāmbara examples, but with women it usually rests low behind the head, while with men it is higher up.

In the case of gods and sages these Vaishnava paintings treat the hair in a fashion not known to me in Śvetāmbara manuscripts. With most of the gods, Krishna, Vishnu, and Indra being excepted, the hair is long, and hangs down, as of the four-headed Brahma (Folios 8, *verso* and 18), Kāma (Folio 16), Rāma (Folios 24 and 59), Lakṣmaṇa (Folio 59), Shiva (Folio 18). Sages (*ṛṣis*) also have long hair but it is twisted up and bound, as of Gāutama in Folio 18 and of Nārada and another in Folio 47. An almost identical treatment of the hair appears in some contemporary and earlier sculpture, of which an example from about the eleventh century is found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 41). The male cowherds wear their hair in coils with what appears to be some kind of ornament or cap (Folios 7, 31, 35, 38, and others).

The costumes are strictly Indian and are in large part like those in the Śvetāmbara paintings. Males wear the *dhotī* (lower garment) and scarf, a headdress, as noted above, never a turban, and are adorned with necklaces, both long and short, earrings, bracelets, and anklets. Women wear the *dhotī*, a *colī* (bodice) and scarf, with necklaces, long and short, anklets, bangles, earrings, and the *tilaka* (spot) on the forehead. Krishna usually wears on his forehead the two vertical lines that are the Vaishnava sectarian mark. Warriors are represented with a kind of trousers (*paijāma*) tucked into boots with curved tips (Folio 59).

The frequent architectural settings, not without value as illustrations of fifteenth century secular construction, resemble those in the Śvetāmbara paintings, although they are more elaborate than in most of the older specimens of the latter, possibly because with the larger area of the individual picture it was possible to extend the setting farther. Vishnu, like Indra and mortal kings in the Śvetāmbara miniatures, often appears seated in a pavilion, a spire-crowned room (like a *vimāna* or chariot of the gods), which is tilted back and reduced in relative size to allow the figure to be seen (Folios 16, 18, 32, 46, and 54). For Śvetāmbara examples see Coomaraswamy *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part IV, plates 2, 4, 5, 6, etc.

In the treatment of nature a number of conventionalizations are employed. Rivers are represented by crossing series of lines, either with or without fish, as in Folios 15, 27, and so on. Clouds appear at the top of the scene as alternating wavy coloured bands (Folios 8, 14, 15, 17, 28, 30, 31, and others). Possibly they are also intended by the striped band surmounted with bicoloured series of peaks that runs along the top of the picture and continues down the right hand side (Folios 6, *verso*, and 24), although these might perhaps be meant for mountains. Forests are indicated by two or more trees in the composition (Folios 8, 17, 28, 31, 35, 38, and others), and these trees are usually, although not always, painted in a medallion-like space that looks as though it were superimposed upon the scene, and gives a decorative effect. Precisely the same treatment appears in the Śvetāmbara paintings. Flowers and the *tulasī* plant (Folios 46 and 47) are often used to fill out the composition. Heavenly flowers, treated so as to appear almost like banners or even "Chinese clouds," frequently appear above the heads of distinguished persons, such as gods (Folios 8, *verso*, 14, 15, 24, 30, 33, and others). That these are actually flowers appears from the similarity of their appearance to that of the flowers in Folio 47.



FIGS. 13 AND 14

Plate CVII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

Of attributes the gods Vishnu, Shiva, Brahma, and Indra carry those that are familiar. Krishna, again, often bears the customary flute, which he plays to charm the male and female cowherds and the cows, but by a strange convention it is never represented as before his mouth. Even though he is playing it, it appears behind the neck; possibly the artist felt that it would interfere with a full view of the Lord's face. The male cowherds (*gopas*) carry sticks with crooks that are used in pulling down branches for the cows, and are the symbol of their duties. The female cowherds (*gopīs*) often bear jars for milk, curds, or butter, or hold butter-balls, or operate churns. There are the usual bearers of fly-whisks; and the honorific parasol is common.

A noteworthy feature is the representation, as it seems, of the worshipping *bhakta* (devoté) author of the text himself, who appears adoring the Lord (Folio 8, *verso*, 15, 17, and possibly in 18, 32, and 46). In Rajput paintings also the author sometimes is depicted, as Jayadeva, author of the Gītā Govinda, in a miniature in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (17.2390), described but not reproduced in Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part V, "Rajput Paintings," 1926, page 165, Number CCLXXX.

As is usual in the Western Indian style, as well as in Rajput, scenes are viewed from above, as from an airplane (so-called bird's-eye view or vertical projection), and there is occasional use of "continuous narration" (Folios 24 and 51), that is, the representation of two or more scenes from the same narrative in a single composition. Elements in Śvetāmbara painting that appear in Rajput paintings have already been noticed,[11] and this manuscript makes more evident still the continuity between the Rajput and the older art.

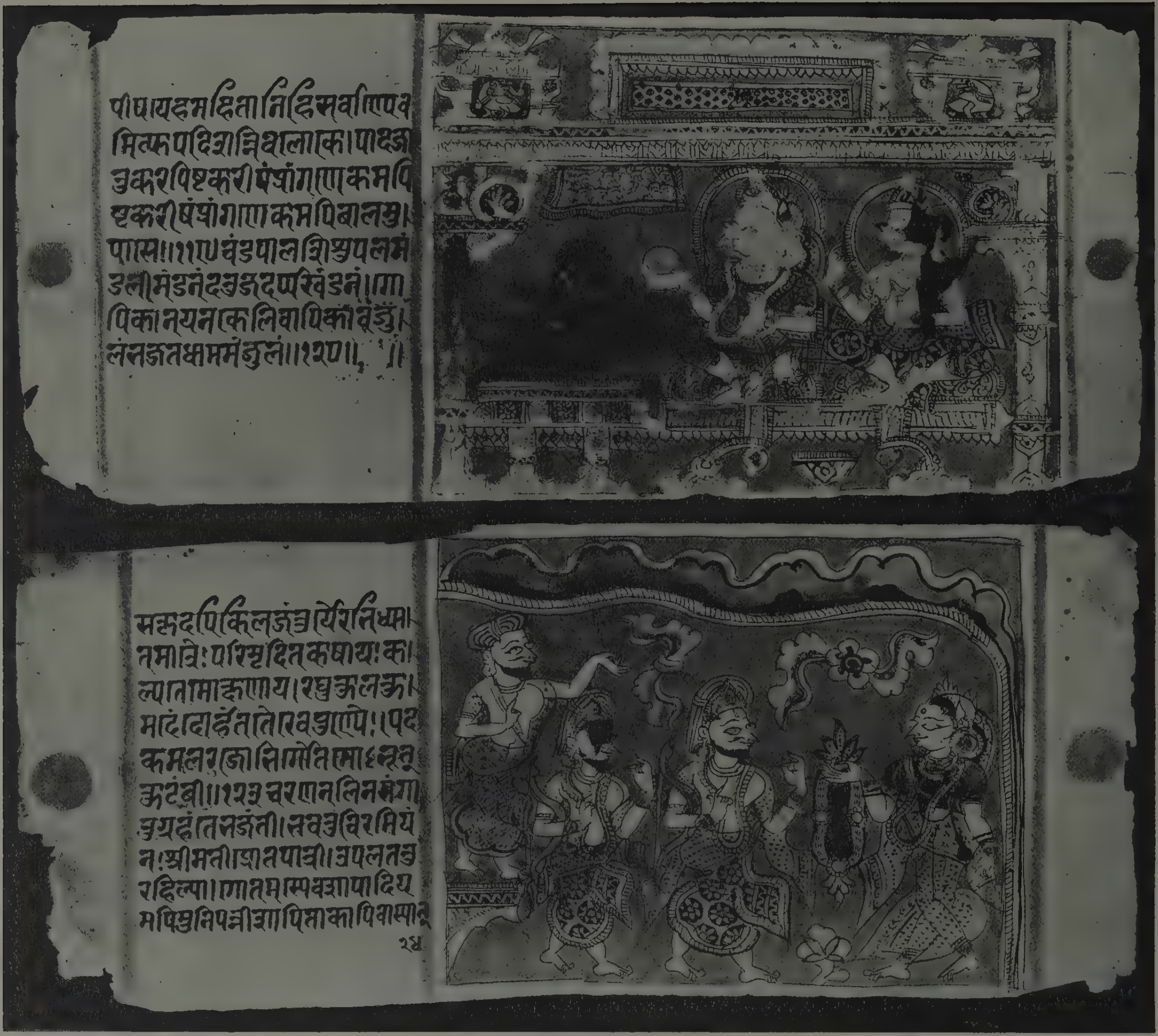
The theme of thirty-seven of our forty paintings, as of the text accompanying them, is the life of the youthful Krishna. Krishna is the eighth incarnation (*avatāra*) of the god Vishnu, and his story is perhaps the best loved of all those in Hindu religious lore. It is contained in the epic Mahābhārata and in literature more specifically devoted to the Vishnu cult, above all in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa. In the epic he is a hero allied with the Pāṇḍava brothers in their great struggle against their cousins the Kāuravas, and he figures most conspicuously as the charioteer of Arjuna, the third of the Pāṇḍavas and warrior *par excellence*. Just before the great battle, Arjuna's heart fails him as he sees his friends, kin, and teacher arrayed before him, destined to fall before his arm, but Krishna recites to him the Bhagavad Gītā ("Song of the Lord") to show him his warrior duty, and then goes on to proclaim his own divine character, reaching a climax when he reveals himself as the All in All, many-faced, many-eyed, many-armed, with all the divine accoutrements, a vision exalting and terrifying.

There is no need to retell here all the Krishna story. Our text and illustrations are concerned with the youthful life, chiefly portraying incidents that may be found in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.[12] In Mathurā ruled the wicked king Kaṁsa. His sister was Devakī, wife of Vasudeva, and there was a prophecy that her eighth son would destroy the tyrant. As fast as her sons were born Kaṁsa had them killed until six were gone, but the seventh, Balarāma, sometimes considered an incarnation of the many-headed serpent Śeṣa that supports the god Vishnu, was transported while still a fœtus from Devakī's womb to the womb of Rohiṇī in Gokula, where he was born and preserved from the rage of Kaṁsa. The latter cast Vasudeva and Devakī into prison under strong guard. The eighth pregnancy of Devakī was with Krishna. When he was born, he revealed himself to his parents as the Primeval Being (*ādi-puruṣa*), dark-coloured, wearing his crest and necklace, bearing ornaments, with the attributes of Vishnu in his four hands, namely, conch, discus, mace, and lotus. All the gods came to adore him (Folio 18). Then he erased the memory of this vision

---

[11] See in I. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Moghols*, Paris, 1928.

[12] Edited and translated by Burnouf and others, *Le Bhāgavata Purāna*, 5 vols: Paris, 1840–1898. An English translation of a Hindi translation of the Sanskrit may be found in F. Pincott, *The Prema-Sāgara*: London, 1897.



FIGS. 15 AND 16

PLATE CVIII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings* from his parents' mind, so that they thought that only a mortal son had been born, and, fearing that Kaṁsa would slay the child, they lamented; but miraculously Vasudeva was enabled to escape from prison and ford the river Yamunā, magically made to subside when Krishna's foot touched the water, and with his infant son in his arms he carried him to Gokula, there to substitute him for the new-born daughter of Nanda and Yaśodā, who in turn miraculously lost all recollection of the fact that the child born to them had been a daughter (Folio 30). Nanda and Yaśodā, thinking Krishna their son, raised him (Folios 6 and 23). Kaṁsa endeavoured to destroy Krishna, having learned what had happened, and sent various demons, of whom one, Pūtanā, is represented in our paintings. Pūtanā, putting poison in her breasts, arrayed herself in her finery, went to Yaśodā, took up Krishna, and began to nurse him. But Krishna sucked the very life out of her so that she fell down dead, while no harm came to him (Folio 51). As a child Krishna crawled about the courtyard (Folio 23), played many pranks with the calves, and stole curds, butter, and other dairy delicacies from the cowherds' houses, to the despair of the maids (*gopīs*) and yet to their delight (Folios 6 and 9).

At one time he was discovered eating dirt. Yaśodā, reproving him, commanded him to open his mouth, but when she looked inside, she saw there the entire three worlds (Folio 52). He used to interfere with the churning (Folio 12). Once for his pranks he was tied to a post (Folio 48) or to a mortar (Folio 6, *verso*). He pulled this mortar along until it was caught between two trees, and then by the exercise of divine strength he uprooted the two trees, whereupon there stood forth two beautiful young men, sons of the god Kubera, who had been cursed by the sage Nārada to become trees until Krishna should release them.

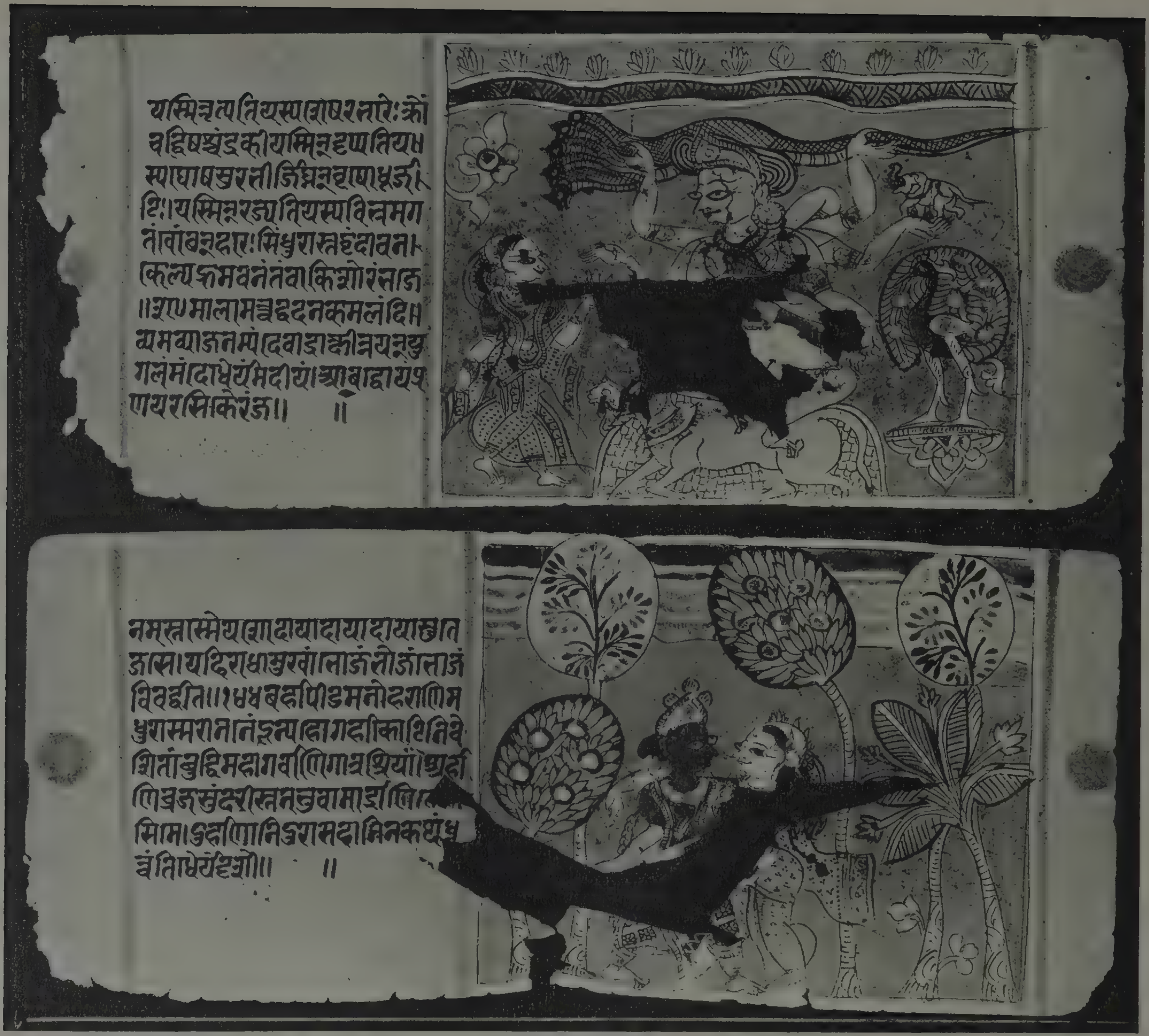
When Krishna was five, Nanda and Yaśodā, with the cowherds and maids, went across the Yamunā to the forest of Vṛndāvana (Rādhā's forest). Krishna insisted on becoming a cowherd. Various demons attacked him, sent by Kaṁsa, but he destroyed them all. The god Brahma once stole away the cows and cowherds, but Krishna, that great illusion-maker, created others that were even more formidable looking than the originals, and Brahma, recognizing Krishna's superiority, worshipped him (Folio 8, *verso*).

Many other episodes are related of Krishna's life as a cowherd, only a few of which are represented in our paintings. Of those that are, the one that recurs most often is the playing of his flute, with which he charms the cowherds, male and female, and the cows alike (Folios 7, 14, *recto*, 15, 17, 21, 31, 33, 35, 38, 44, 45). Among the important episodes omitted are the stealing of the *gopīs'* clothes while they are bathing; the conquest of the serpent Kāliya; the attack by Indra upon the cowherds, whom Krishna protected by holding Mount Govardhana above them on the tip of his finger; the begging of food from the Brahmans of Mathurā, who refused it but were foiled by their wives, who gave it and reaped the reward.

In the month of Kārttika Krishna called the female cowherds to the dance he had promised when he stole their clothes. They came deserting their husbands, longing for Krishna. He at first danced with them, then abandoned them, and they searched for him in despair; then he came again and danced with them, exercising Yoga power to multiply his body so that each girl thought she had him as a partner (Folio 14, *verso*). Of all the girls his favorite was Rādhā (Folios 14, *recto*, 15, 28, 41, and others), who is an incarnation of Lakṣmī, Vishnu's chief consort (Folio 14, *recto*).

The story now goes on to events not represented in our miniatures, although some receive reference in the text, telling how he won many victories over demons, conquered the wicked Kaṁsa, and had many other adventures. One other scene depicted is the winning of his conch (Folio 17).

The series contains other paintings characterizing erotic features of Krishna's life, as of Kāma, the god of love, exercising his influence upon Krishna (Folio 16), of



FIGS. 17 AND 18

PLATE CIX. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

Krishna in a swing with *gopīs* (Folios 19 and 40), of Krishna and Rādhā in a love scene in the forest (Folio 28), and of the same pair in a lovers' quarrel (Folio 50).

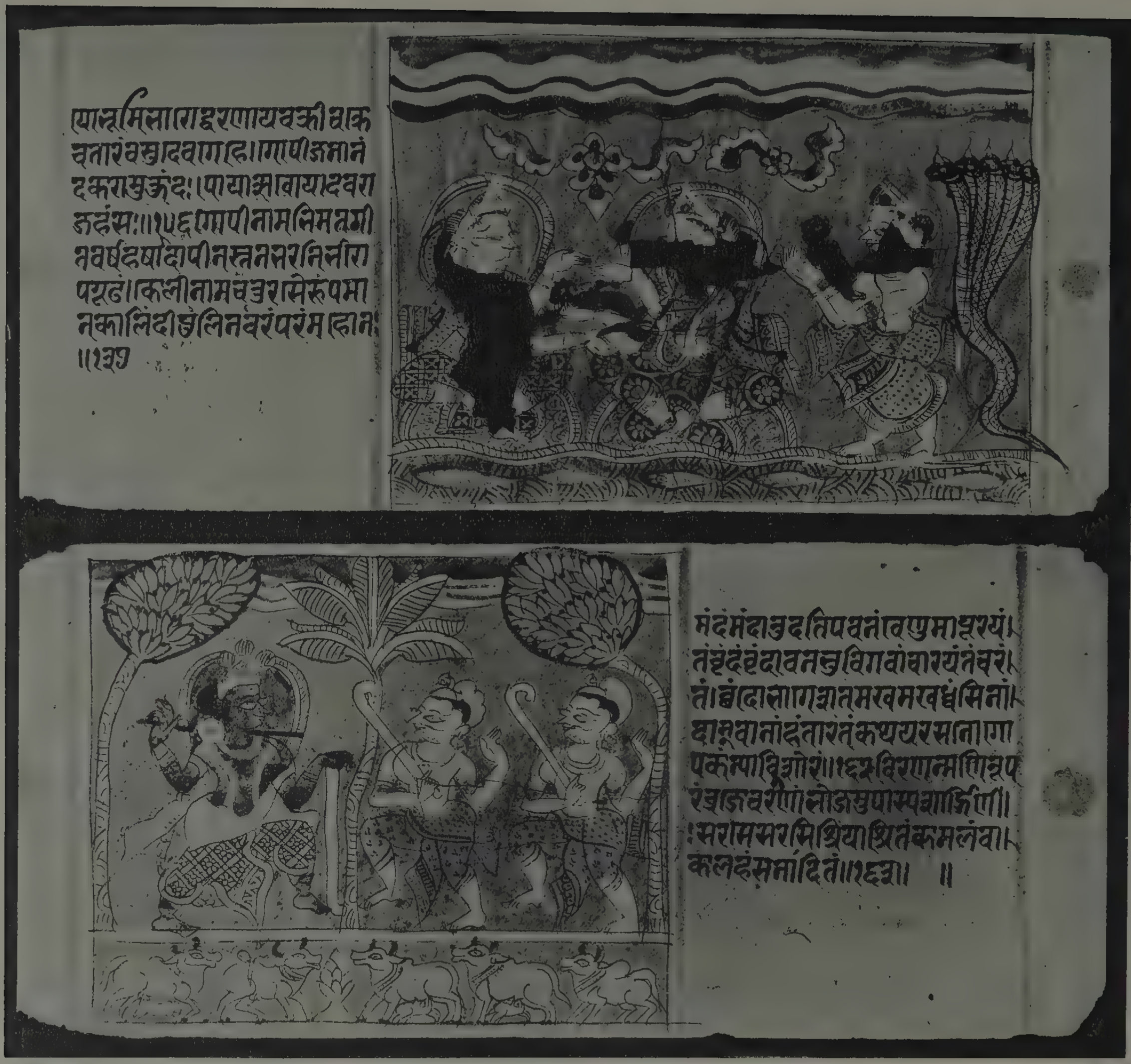
One other scene shows him honoured by sages (Folio 47).

In addition to the thirty-seven scenes of the youthful life of Krishna, there are two paintings in the series not connected with the Krishna story, but with that of Rāma Candra, also an incarnation of Vishnu, whose doings are recounted in the epic Rāmāyaṇa. One of these (Folio 59) represents the battle between Rāma aided by his ally, the monkey-god Hanumat, and the ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa, who had abducted Rāma's wife Sītā and carried her to his fortress in the island of Lankā. The other (Folio 24) is of an anecdote in the Rāma story, having reference to the well-known tale of the sage Gāutama, his wife Ahalyā, and the god Indra, who seduced that frail lady.

Last of all, one painting (Folio 27) illustrates the dance of Shiva, possibly through a misunderstanding of the text.

The mystical interpretation of the Krishna legend is well established and well-known, and needs no more than a passing reference here. Krishna is the Beloved of the Universe and the human soul seeks him. The erotic narrative, therefore, symbolizes the quest and attainment. All creatures come to worship him, Vasudeva and Devakī in being his parents, Kaṁsa in being his enemy, the *gopīs* in being his mistresses. In the work we have before us, this feature is always present. Much as the author loves the physical, outward form of the scene, its inner content is still more important; and he prays constantly that he may realize the Maker of Illusion. The story in its application is the great mystic legend of India, and those who know the erotic symbolism used in Western Christian mysticism will be neither surprised nor shocked at the turn the same human craving for union with the Absolute takes in Indian mysticism. The difference is perhaps not much more than one of greater variety and exuberance of the imagery in India, springing from a more ancient tradition and a greater development of the imagination.

The manufacture of the manuscript with the illustrations seems to have been much like that of the Śvetāmbara manuscripts. The page was blocked off with a panel (*ālekhyasthāna*) indicated for the miniature. The text was then written on, and afterwards the page was given to the artist to make the illustrations. But there are some noteworthy differences. In the Śvetāmbara manuscripts the weight of importance between text and illustration always seems to have been in favour of the text. Here, as also in the case of the Vasantavilāsa manuscript, the weight seems to have been in favour of the illustration. This seems clear from the distribution of the text in the folios. In the Śvetāmbara manuscripts the pages are always full, except of course for the last page, and the illustrations are inserted into the text in the allotted spaces. But in our manuscript the folios seem to have been assigned to certain subjects. The text was written in with the stanza giving the theme of the painting at the top of the page. Other stanzas followed until the stanza came which was to give the theme of the next illustration, and then a new folio was started. In most cases the reverse side of the folio is only about half filled with text. Two folios (6 and 14) have paintings on both sides. The paintings are also considerably larger than is the case with the contemporary Śvetāmbara paper manuscript illustrations. The latter, in the early part of the paper period, measure about three inches wide by three and a half deep; ours about five inches wide by four deep. The width in our paintings is the greater dimension, unlike the Śvetāmbara paper examples, although, as mentioned above, the width is the greater dimension in the still older palm-leaf examples. Again, in our manuscript the rubrication of the string hole in the center of the page, which is general in the Śvetāmbara manuscripts and reproduces the actual treatment of the string hole in the palm-leaf manuscripts, is missing; the



FIGS. 19 AND 20

PLATE CX. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

paintings cover the place where the spot would be. The red spots on the side, where in the older palm-leaf manuscripts the page numbers were written, still appear.

The quality of these paintings as works of art is very high. The drawing has the same careless surety that marks the Śvetāmbara examples, and the same vigorous movement. The composition is almost invariably excellent, the main features of the scene never being crowded by the accessory elements, yet being correctly complemented by them. The colour effects are excellent, as unfortunately cannot be seen from the black and white reproductions presented here. The most surprising feature of the colouration is to me the use of yellow, regularly appearing here, as in Rajput paintings, in Krishna's costume (*pītāmbara*), contrasting effectively with the dark blue of his body, and handled with a degree of skill not to be expected from the Śvetāmbara paintings, which in the paper examples generally employ gold, and when they use yellow achieve less marked success.

These paintings, so far as I can see, show almost no trace of Persian influence, although possibly some of the Śvetāmbara examples on paper do. Ours seem, in fact, more closely allied to the palm-leaf examples of the Śvetāmbaras than to the paper, and so, too, seem the paintings of the Vasantavilāsa manuscript. This statement does not mean, of course, that they are nearer to the palm-leaf examples than are the Śvetāmbara paper paintings. But Persian influence soon comes in and the fifteenth century Śvetāmbara miniatures of the Kālakācaryakathā show a few evidences of it, while the Rajput miniatures from the succeeding centuries are in a style that retains many elements from this early Western Indian art but adds many others, with the result that the final effect is vastly different.[13]

EXPLANATION OF THE PAINTINGS

The meaning of the paintings would often be unintelligible without the accompanying text. Yet the state of the text is so unsatisfactory that it has not seemed worth while to attempt a full rendering. It has been used in part, when the passages are concerned directly with the illustrations, but even in such cases corrections frequently have been necessary. The emendations will, I hope, commend themselves to those scholars who care to examine the portions of the text reproduced in the plates.

The order of the figures is not in all cases that of the folios in their manuscript sequence; but since they were photographed in pairs, I have allowed the jumbled arrangement to stand.

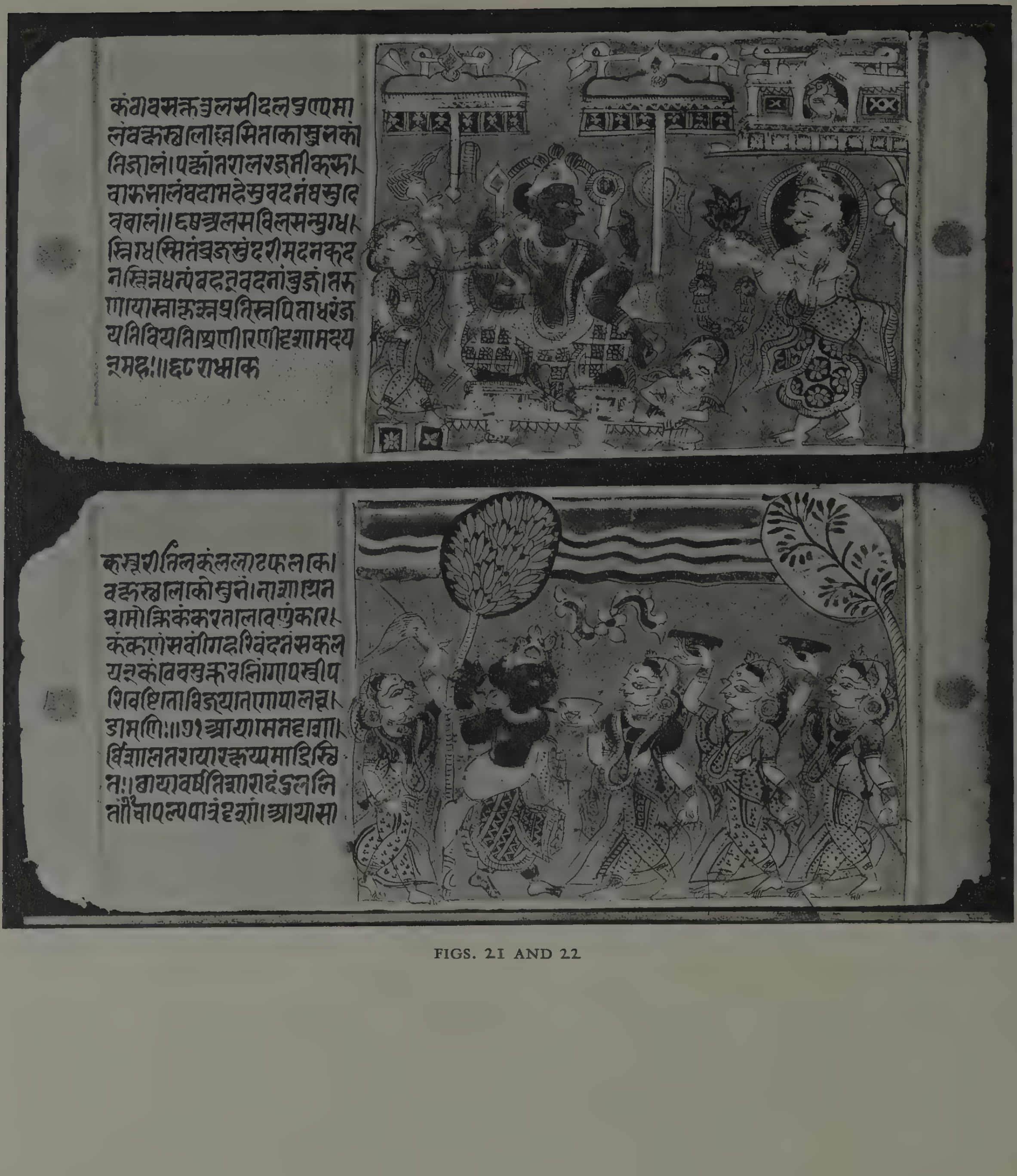
FIGURE 1. Folio 6, *recto*. At the right the youthful Krishna, as yet unskilled in the play of love, and bashful (*mugdha*) standing on a pedestal ornamented with mythical monsters; before him a *gopī* with a halo, who entices him to her home with the words, "Come, Govinda, I will give you milk." In the center another *gopī*, who holds the infant Krishna in her arms. At the left a third *gopī*, possibly Rādhā, with arms upraised supporting a jar. Overhead an architectural setting.

The difficulty in this picture is to interpret the central *gopī* and the presence of the infant Krishna in her arms. The text, which is as follows, does not seem to remove the difficulty:

āgaccha govinda dadāmi dugdhaṁ
  mugdhaṁ taṁ evaṁ pathi vipratārya
kāḥ kāmasaṁgrāmavibhā (*MS dha*) *vadhīraṁ*
  api svakaṁ veśma nayanti na sma. (19)
yo līlayā gokulagopanāya
  govarddhanaṁ bhūdharam uddadhāra
khinnaḥ sakampaḥ sa babhūva rādhā-
  payodharakṣmādharadarśanena. (20)

---

[13] Cf. Coomaraswamy, *Catalogue of the Indian Collections*, Part IV, page 36; Part V, pages 27f; Brown, *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. III, pages 23f; and a forthcoming article by Brown in the Jubilee Number of the *Jaina Gazette*.



FIGS. 21 AND 22

Plate CXI. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

" 'Come, Govinda, I will give you milk!' What (*gopīs*) would not thus beguile this youth along the road to their own house, inexperienced as he, is though bold in the states of excitation of the love conflict? (19)

"He, who as if in play upheld mount Govardhana to protect Gokula, at the sight of Rādhā's breast, which was like mount Kṣmādhara, became exhausted and agitated. (20)"

The left-hand *gopī* might be Rādhā whose breasts, as she holds up her arms, are visible to Krishna; but we are still left without plausible interpretation of the central female figure.

FIGURE 2. Folio 7, *recto*. At the left Krishna as a cowherd (*gopa*), wearing *dhotī* and yellow scarf, and with his characteristic ornament of peacock feathers on his head. He carries a staff, curved at the end to pull down branches for the cows, and is playing his flute, which by a convention of this art always appears behind the neck. Facing him are two cowherds, charmed with the music. Behind them, running vertically down the picture, is the river Yamunā, and on the other side the cows, which he subdued by his playing. Krishna stands beneath a tree, while across the upper left-hand corner is a cloud. The author in stanza 26 prays that at the time of death he may see Krishna before him in this guise.

FIGURE 3. Folio 8, *verso*. At the left Brahma with four faces, of which one does not show, and wearing the long hair that characterizes most gods in this series. He is seated on a throne, and in one of his hands holds a flower, while he honours Krishna. Above him to the right heavenly flowers. At the right of center is Krishna as Vishnu, four-armed but bearing only two (discus and mace) of his usual attributes. Behind him a female fly-whisk bearer. This picture refers to the vain attempt of Brahma to surpass Krishna already mentioned above. In front of Krishna is a small male figure in an attitude of adoration, and before Krishna another lies prostrate. At the top are clouds.

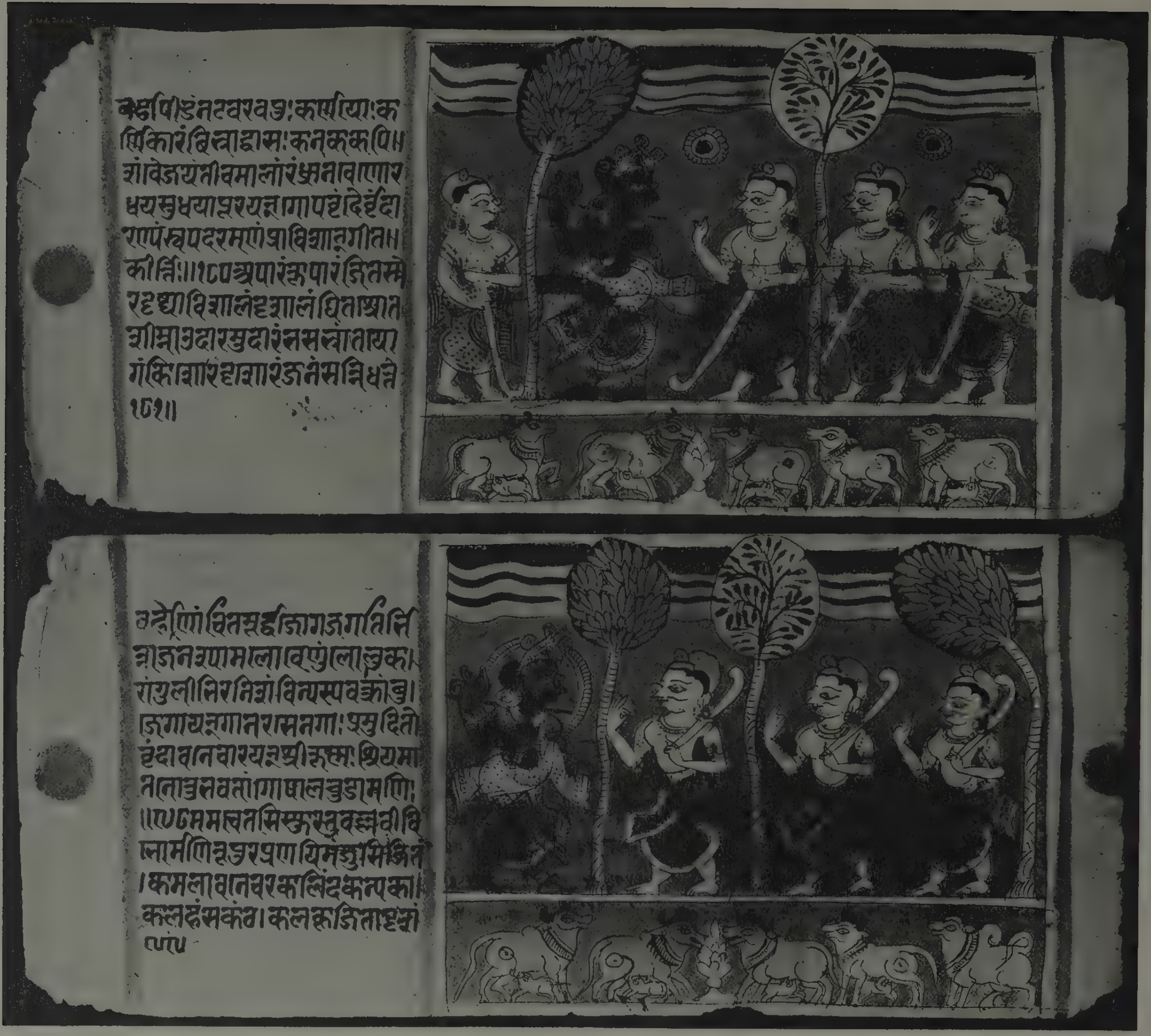
The text is worth quoting:

brahmāpi cāruśikhipicchakṛtāvataṁsaṁ
taṁ sampadāṁ sadanam ardditakaṁsavaṁśam
guñjāphalābharaṇabhūṣitakaṇṭhanālaṁ
nālaṁ kilākalayituṁ (MS. *kilākaliyatuṁ*) *basudevabālam*. (32)
carantam ekaṁ manasāpi durgrahaṁ
kalindajātā(MS. °*jānī* corrected to °*jātī*)*ratamālakānane*
babandha dṛk(MS. *dṛka*)*śṛñkhalayā 'balā 'balān*
nirañkuśaṁ kṛṣṇamahāmadaṁ (MS. °*hāmaṁtaṁ*) *gajam*. (33)

"Even Brahma, of course, was not able to bind (or, to comprehend) the son of Vasudeva, who wears an ornament of his beloved peacock feathers, the abode of wealth (punningly, of Lakṣmī), demolisher of the family of Kaṁsa, and whose neck is adorned with ornaments made of *guñjā* berries. (32)

"As he who is hard to grasp even with the mind wandered alone, in a thicket in the love-forest of the Yamunā, a powerless maid without the use of strength and having no elephant goad, bound the black (Krishna) mightily rutting elephant with the fetter of her glance." (33)

FIGURE 4. Folio 9, *verso*. Architectural setting. At the right, standing on a bracket pedestal, is the child Krishna; at the left a crystal pillar (*maṇistambha*) with a reflection of Krishna dancing. Two *gopīs*, seated on a cushion, face the reflection, which they take to be Krishna himself, and one of them offers him two balls of butter (*agre dvidhā vitene navanītam ekam*). In front of her is a large earthen vessel used for churning, with the churning-stick leaning on its edge. Four smaller vessels appear above it, as though suspended in space, but perhaps with allowance for "vertical perspective" meant to be represented as on the floor.



FIGS. 23 AND 24

PLATE CXII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

Figure 5. Folio 6, *verso*. At the left appears the infant Krishna tied to a mortar by Yaśodā to curb his mischievous pranks. At first her efforts to tie him were fruitless, but when he saw that she was distressed he allowed himself to be bound. Behind the mortar is a tree and before it another, possibly representing the two trees in which the sons of Kuvera were confined by Nārada's curse. The story is that when Krishna dragged the mortar between the trees and uprooted them, the young men were released from the curse. At the right, facing Krishna, is Yaśodā with her hand raised in an attitude of reproof. Running along the top of the picture and down the right hand edge is either a bank of clouds or a range of mountains. A flower in the upper right hand corner completes the composition.

The text says:

yaśodayā gāḍham ulūkhaleṇa (MS. alūṣalena)
gokaṇṭhapāśena nibadhyamānaḥ
saṁmarddayan pāṇitalena netre
ruroda mandaṁ navanītacāuraḥ (MS. °*raṁ*). (21)
ulūkhalaṁ (MS. *ulūṣala*) *vā yaminām mano vā*
vrajāñganānāṁ kucakuḍmalaṁ vā
murārināmnaḥ kalabhasya viṣṇor
ālānam (MS. *ālanam*) *āsīt trayam eva loke*. (22)

"Tightly tied by Yaśodā with a cow halter to a mortar, rubbing his eyes with the palms of his hands, the Butter-thief quietly wept. (21)

"Whether it was the mortar or the wish of those restraining him or the breast-buds of the female cowherds, there was a triple bond to the world for the elephant calf Vishnu under the name of Murāri (enemy of Mura). (22)"

Figure 6. Folio 14, *recto*. Krishna is in the center, in his hand the flute, by his side the youthful Lakṣmī, a maid filled with the sentiment of love (*bālyalaksmīh pārśve bālā pranayasarasā*), over her head a heavenly garland. The youthful Lakṣmī is Rādhā, who is often regarded as an *avatāra* of the goddess. Behind Krishna are two *gopīs* as fly-whisk bearers, and behind Rādhā (Lakṣmī) a *gopī* as attendant. A miniature bull and a cow appear at Krishna's feet. Overhead are clouds.

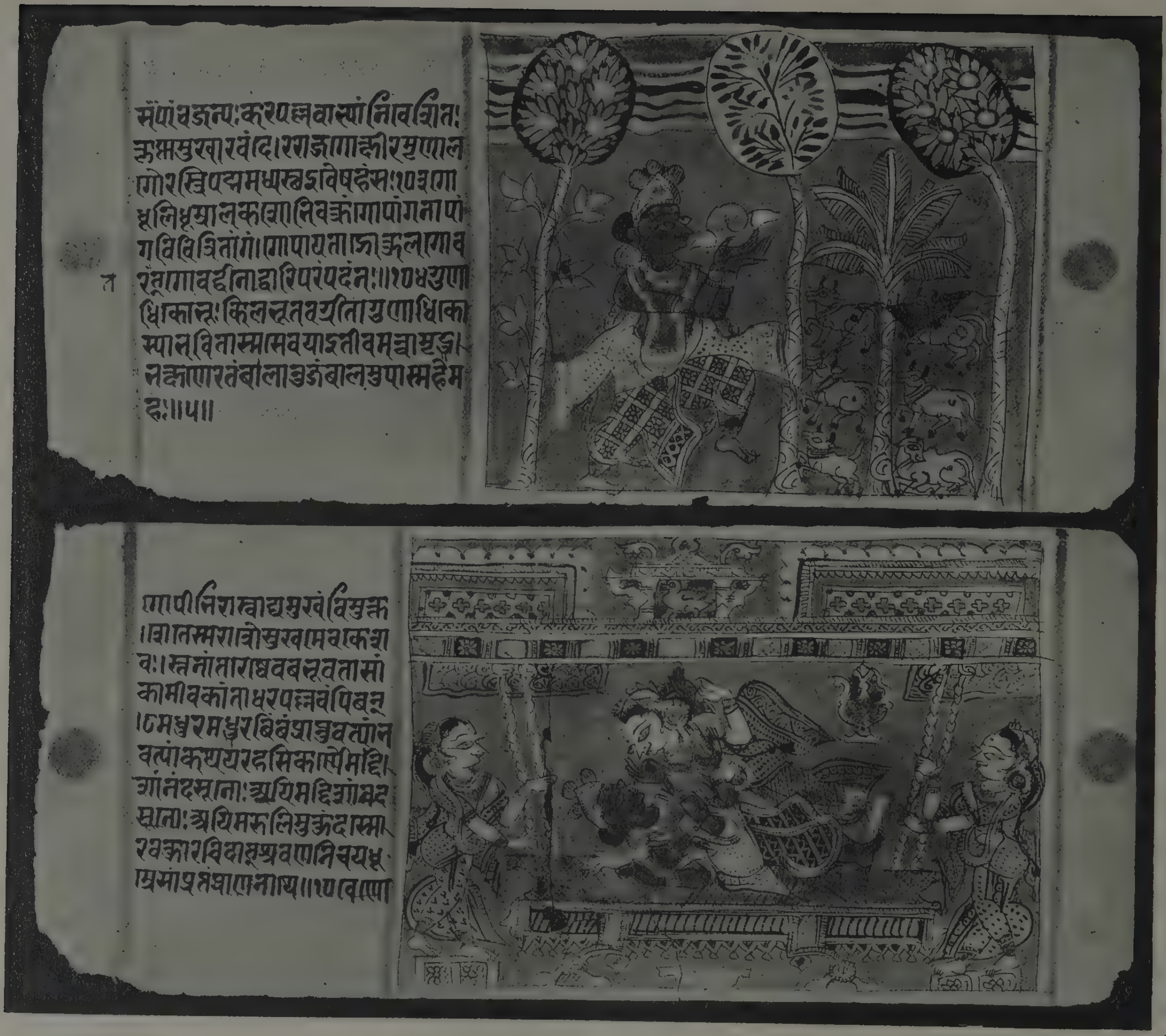
Figure 7. Folio 12, *recto*. In an architectural setting (a palace) distinguished by elegant pillars with elaborate capitals, are two *gopīs* churning. The child Krishna interferes. The description of the scene in stanza 53 is lively. Removing the dittography, we have:

manthānam ujjha mathituṁ dadhi na kṣamas tvaṁ
bālo 'si vatsa virameti yaśodayoktah
kṣīrābdhimanthanam iti smṛtijātahāso
vāñcchāsyadaṁ diśatu vo vasudevasūnuḥ (MS. °*nu* but corrected). (53)

" 'Let go the churning-stick! You are not able to churn milk. You are young, child, stop!' When Yaśodā spoke thus to him, he remembered the churning of the ocean of milk and smiled. May Krishna dispel illusion for you!" (53)

Figure 8. Folio 14, *verso*. The Rāsalīlā. Krishna at the upper left in four-armed form plays his flute; in his upper left hand is a flower (compare Folio 21); in the lower left was possibly his cowherd's crook (compare Folio 21). In the rest of the picture the *gopīs* are dancing with the multiplied bodies of Krishna, which he created by Yoga magic, each *gopī* thinking she has the real Krishna by her side.

Figure 9. Folio 16, *recto*. At the left Vishnu in a tilted pavilion (cf. folio 18) seated on a throne, in three of his hands attributes, namely, mace, discus, and conch, over his head an honorific parasol; facing him on a pedestal the five-arrowed (*pañcabāṇa*) god of love, Kāma, his bow slung over his left shoulder, his hair long, and above him also a parasol. At the right Lakṣmī, Vishnu's *śakti* (manifestation of energy in female form) and consort; above her a canopy ornamented with a swan.



FIGS. 25 AND 26

PLATE CXIII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

Stanza 79 is as follows:

jīyād asāu śikhiśikhaṇḍakṛtāvataṁsaṁ
sāṁsiddhikīsarasakāntisudhāsamṛddhim
yadbinduleśakaṇikāpariṇāmabhāgyāt
sāubhāgyasīmapadam añcati pañcabāṇaḥ. (79)

I suggest for this: "May she (Lakṣmī-Rādhā) win him who wears the peacock's tail as a head-ornament, who enjoys the fulness of the nectar of the affectionate loveliness of the self-perfected one (Lakṣmī, good fortune), through the fate of the development of a particle of a portion of whose forehead-spot (the sign of her married state) the five-arrowed god (Kāma) reverences the place of the uttermost limit of married happiness."

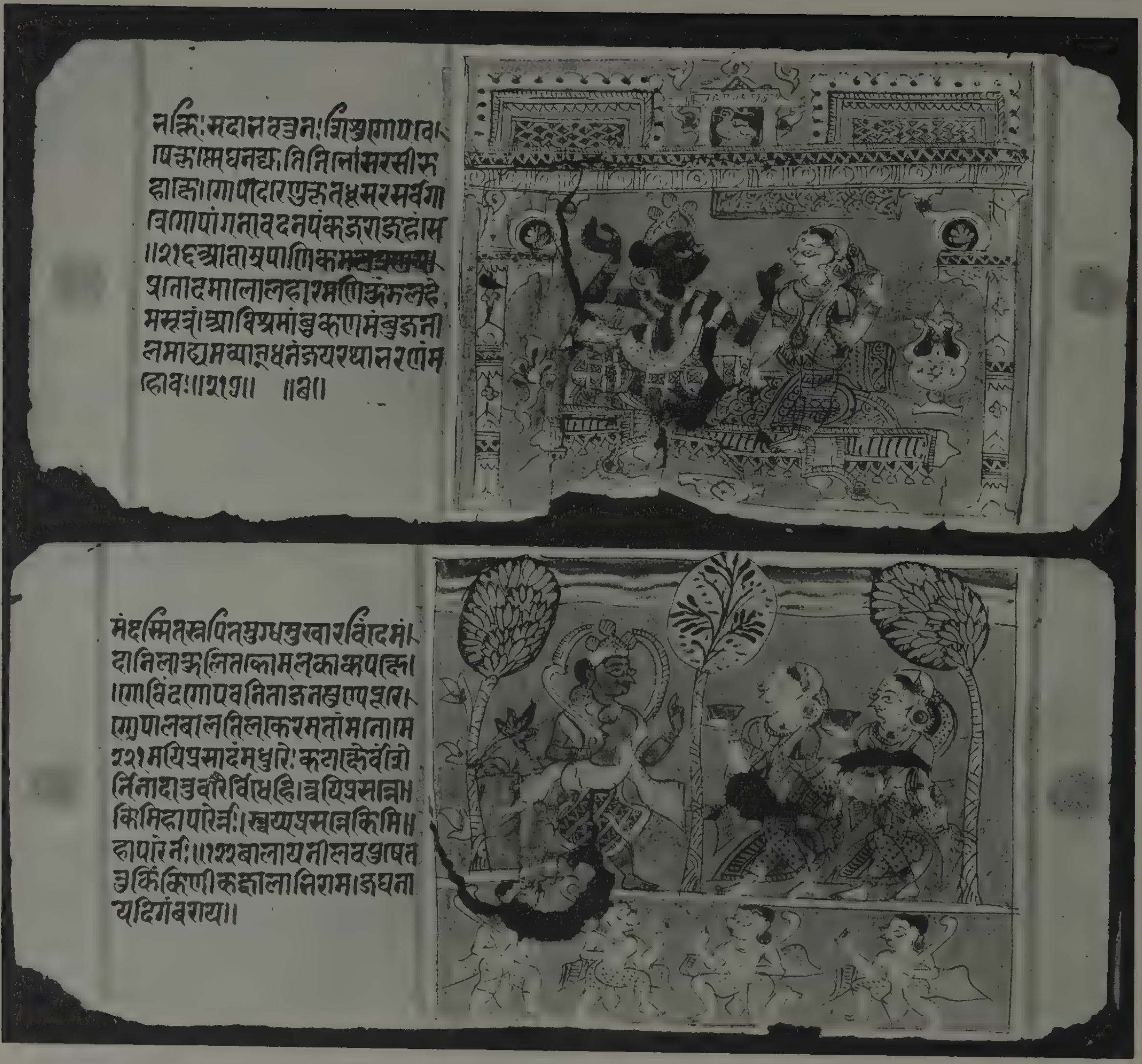
Figure 10. Folio 15, *recto*. The scene is beside the Yamunā river, which appears at the bottom of the picture. Krishna in four-armed form is playing his flute and dancing. With two hands he holds his flute, with the other two he impudently sports with the breast-pairs of the *gopīs* (*vallavīkucadvayīdurlalitaḥ*). The *gopī* facing him with the garland above her is possibly Rādhā, distinguished so because she is an incarnation of the goddess Lakṣmī, consort of Vishnu. At the extreme left is the author, who prays that at the time of death he may have before him this vision of the youthful Krishna. The lower line of the author's eye is not drawn in, with the result that the eye appears to be shut. This feature is perhaps an intentional representation of death. Overhead is a cloud, and at the right a bent tree.

Figure 11. Folio 17, *recto*. Krishna in four-handed form, playing his flute. Two *gopīs* accompany him, one acting as a fly-whisk bearer, the other carrying a milk vessel tilted at a perilous angle. With two hands Krishna holds his flute, with the other two he toys with the *gopīs*' breasts. Above is the conch Pāñcajanya, which Krishna won from the demon Pañcajana. At the left in an attitude of adoration is the author, who says in stanza 86 (MS. 46) that not words nor attitudes of mind can save, only Krishna's foot (*na vacāṅsi na cittavṛttayaḥ padam ekaṁ paripātum īśate*). In stanza 88 he prays that he may see the Lord thus. Clouds and trees complete the scene.

Figure 12. Folio 18, *recto*. At the left is Vishnu, four-armed carrying in three hands mace, discus, and conch, seated on a throne in a pavilion (cell under the spire of a temple or perhaps a *vimāna*, chariot of the gods) tilted back and reduced in size so as hardly to be distinguishable. Kneeling at the lower right-hand corner of the throne is Garuḍa, the man-bird, Vishnu's vehicle. Over both Vishnu and Garuḍa are honorific parasols. Four figures in two tiers of two each adore Vishnu. In the upper tier, the nearest to Vishnu is the god Shiva, who in two of his four hands carries skull and trident. Next to him is Indra, who holds in two of his four hands the elephant goad and club. The right-hand figure in the lower tier is that of the four-headed Brahma, three of whose heads appear. In two of his hands he carries a lotus and a book. The other figure, which is standing with hands in an attitude of adoration, is possibly that of the author. Shiva and Brahma wear the long hair characteristic of the gods (excepting Vishnu and Indra) in this series of paintings. Indra is the Indra of the Śvetāmbara miniatures.

Figure 13. Folio 19, *recto*. Krishna, four-armed, seated in an elaborate swing with two *gopis*. One of these is a fly-whisk bearer, the other is the object of his attention and is possibly Rādhā. In one of his hands he holds a vessel, with another he fondles the whisk-bearer's breast. The scene is inexactly indicated in stanza 99:

kvaṇatkanakakaṅkanaṁ karaniruddhapītāmbaraṁ
kramaprasṛtakuntalaṁ galitabarhabhūṣaṁ vibhoḥ
punaḥ prakṛticāpalaṁ praṇayinībhujāṅkāntaraṁ
(MS °*bhujāyaṁtritaṁ*, emendation conjectural)
mahaḥ sphuratu (MS *spharatu*) *mānase madanakeliśayyotthitam.* (99)



नक्तिः सदानवजनः शिशुगोपवे
षक्ष्मघनद्युतिनिलीमरसीरु
हाक्षो।।गोपादरेणुकृतधूसरसर्वगा
त्रगोपांगनावदनपंकजराजहंस
।।१२६ आताम्रपाणिकमल[illegible]
प्रतादमालोलहारमणिकुंडलहे
मसूत्रं।आविश्रमांबुकणमंबुजना
लमाद्यमव्याद्धनंजयरथान्तरंगम
हावः।।१२७।।   ।।ब।।

मंदस्मितस्नपितमुग्धमुखारविंदमं
दानिलाकुलितकोमलकाकपक्षं।
।।गोविंदगोपवनिताजनसुण्णपूर
णुपालबालतिलकंरमतांमनोमे
१२। मयिप्रसादंमधुरेःकृपालोर्विधे
र्निनादात्तुवीरिविधेहि।त्वयिप्रसन्ने
किमिहापरैर्नः।त्वय्यप्रसन्नेकिमि
हापरैर्नः।।१३ बालायनीलवपुषेन
वकिंकिणीकजालाभिरामजघना
यदिगंबराय।।

FIGS. 27 AND 28

PLATE CXIV. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

"May there appear in my heart the splendor of the Lord, with tinkling golden bracelets, holding his yellow garment in his hand, his locks in the act of escaping their bonds, the peacock feather ornament slipped away, withal inconstant by nature, in the arms of his beloved, seated in a love-swing." (99)

FIGURE 14. Folio 21, *recto*. At the upper left Krishna, four-armed, in the guise of a *gopa*, playing his flute and dancing. In one hand is his flute, in another a lotus, in a third his cowherd's crook. Immediately below him in the picture are two *gopīs*, with whom he is dancing. The right-hand two-thirds of the picture show, above, two *gopīs*, one carrying a milk vessel, the other churning, and, below, a seated *gopī* holding two butter balls, beside her a jar. The painting is a kind of résumé of the work to this point, selecting the *rāsalīlā* and the scenes in which Krishna's fondness for butter and curds is depicted as the most characteristic.

At this point there comes the conclusion of part of the manuscript. The text reads:

nārāyaṇāya nama ity ayam eva satyaṁ
saṁsāraghoraviṣasaṁharaṇāya mantraḥ
śṛṇvantu sarvamunayo muditāḥ (MS °*tā*) *surāgāt*
uccāistarām upadiśamy aham ūrdhvabāhuḥ (MS *ūrdvavāhuḥ*). (108)
iti śrīparamahaṁsapravrājakaśrīpādabilvamaṅgalaviracitā
śrībālagopālastutiḥ. iti māghapurāṇe bhagavadvākyam O (109)

" 'Reverence to Nārāyaṇa (Vishnu)!' This, and this alone, is in truth the charm that dispels the fearful poison of the round of existence (*saṁsāra*). Let all the sages learn with delight from my good passion (also, fair song), as with arms upraised I loudly teach. (108)

"Here ends the Bālagopālastuti (Praise of the Youthful Krishna) composed by the reverend ascetic Paramahaṁsa Śrīpāda Bilvamaṅgala. Here ends the Bhagavadvākya in the Māgha Purāṇa." (109)

The zero (*O*) in the text after the word *bhagavadvākyam* is frequently used in Śvetāmbara manuscripts to indicate that a longer and well-known quotation has been abbreviated. What its exact significance is here I cannot say.

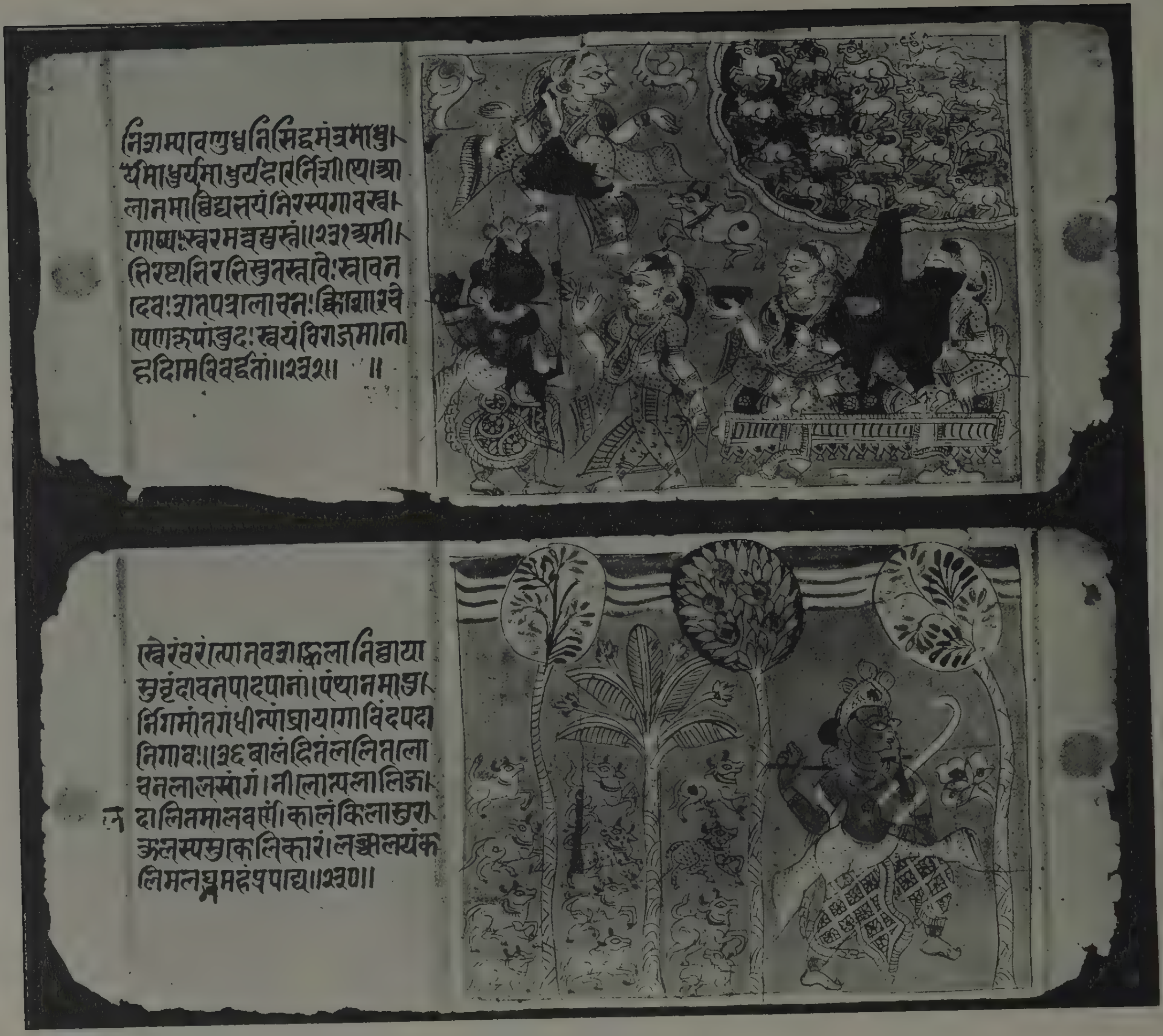
For a discussion of the works and the author mentioned in these portions of the text, see pages 167 and 169.

FIGURE 15. Folio 23, *recto*. An elaborate architectural setting, showing at the left Krishna crawling on a kind of throne. Facing him, seated on a large platform, are two figures, one a female, who extends a ball of butter towards Krishna, the other, a male. These are presumably Yaśodā and Nanda. The significance of the scene is made clear by stanza 119:

peṣaye (MS *pīṣaye*) *'ham ahitāni sarvaṇy*
evam ity upadiśann iva loke
pādajānukarapiṣṭakarīṣaṁ
prāṅgaṇe kam api bālam upāse (119)

"I worship a child who in a courtyard crushed refuse with his feet, knees, and hands, as though instructing the world, 'Thus do I crush all evils!' " (119)

FIGURE 16. Folio 24, *recto*. An incident from the life, not of Krishna, but of Rāma, another *avatāra* (incarnation) of Vishnu, who is here involved in only an adventitious capacity. The story is that of the sage Gāutama and his erring wife Ahalyā, which appears often in Indic literature. One day when Gāutama was absent from the hermitage, Indra approached, solicited Ahalyā, and she sinned with him. Gāutama returned sooner than he was expected and Indra took the form of a cat. The sage asked Ahalyā who was there. She answered equivocally in words that might mean either "a cat" or "my lover." Gāutama saw through the deceit, and cursed the



FIGS. 29 AND 30

PLATE CXV. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings* pair, Indra that he should bear upon his body a thousand representations of that which he had desired of Ahalyā, and Ahalyā that she should turn to a stone. The marks on Indra's body afterwards were changed to eyes, whence he is called "Thousand-eyed" (*sahasrākṣa*) and Ahalyā's fate was mitigated to the extent that when, long afterwards, Rāma passing through the forest where the rock lay should touch it with his foot, she should be restored to human form.

Our painting has in the background alternate wavy bands surmounting a striped line at the top of the picture and continuing down the right-hand side, which represent either a cloud bank or a range of mountains. In the center Rāma appears twice, bearing a bow, as is common in the iconography of that hero. His hair is long, like that of other deities in this series. He is apparently walking through the forest, and the two representations show him before and after touching the charmed stone. In the sky are two garlands, which are not placed squarely above him, but are probably meant for his honour. Facing him is Ahalyā, restored to her human estate, holding out to him a garland. At the extreme left, on a pedestal, is Gāutama, who has now again become "a family man" (*kuṭumbin*), and from his gesture of welcome seems pleased. His long hair is twisted up like that of other sages (*ṛṣi*) in the series.

sakṛd api kila jantur yāir abhidhyātamātrāiḥ
parimṛditakaṣāyaḥ kalpate mokṣaṇāya
raghukulakumudendor (MS *°madendor*) *hanta tāir eva puṇyāiḥ*
padakamalarajobhir gāutamo 'bhūt kuṭumbī. (123)

"That potent dust from the lotus feet of the moon of the lotuses of the line of Raghu (Rāma), through which, if it is merely called to mind, a creature, as we know, at once gains salvation, his sins crushed—through it (the dust) alone Gāutama became a family man. (123)"

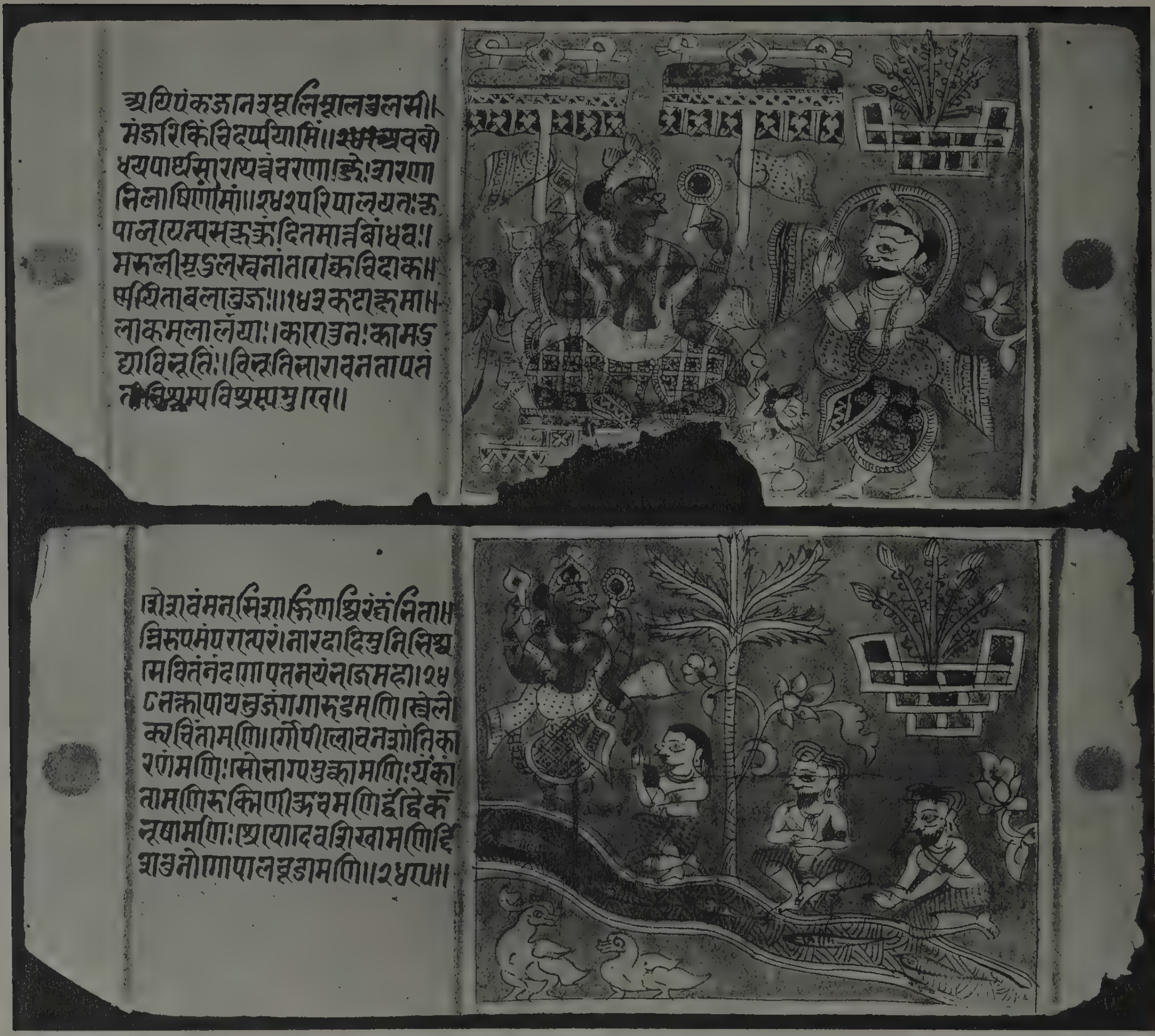
Figure 17. Folio 27, *recto*. The god Shiva, white as is characteristic of him, around his neck a serpent, as usual, eight-armed, with long matted hair (he is the ascetic *par excellence*), in his dancing manifestation. In two of his hands he holds up the many-headed serpent Śeṣa (on which Vishnu usually reclines); in another he carries a white elephant, said in the text to belong to Hari, which here probably means Indra, while the elephant would then be Āirāvata. Below him, but apparently behind him, is his bull, on which he regularly rides. Behind the bull is a scaly looking object with an animal's head, which I cannot identify. At the right of Shiva is a peacock which the text indicates belongs to Kārttikeya. At the left is a *gopī*.

This is a most unusual manner of depicting Shiva. For him to carry Śeṣanāga and Indra's elephant is, as far as I am aware, otherwise unknown. It seems possible that the artist made this picture through a misunderstanding of stanza 139. That stanza as edited is as follows, some of the emendations being conjectural:

yasmin nṛtyati yasya śekharabharāiḥ (MS *seṣara°*) *krāuñcadviṣaś candrakī*
yasmin dṛpyati yasya ghoṣasurabhīr jighran (MS *jighnan*) *vṛṣo dhūrjaṭeḥ*
  (MS *°jaṭiḥ*)
yasmin rajyati yasya vibhramagatāṁ (MS *°gataṁ*) *vāñchan* (MS *voṁchan*)
  hareḥ sindhuras (MS *°rās*)
tad vṛndāvanakelika(MS *°kelya*)*drumavanaṁ taṁ vā kiśoraṁ bhaje.* (39)

This I translate: "That grove of *kadamba* trees in Vṛndāvana and that youth I adore, in which grove Kārttikeya's peacock dances with his (Krishna's) crest-bearers (peacocks?), in which grove Shiva's bull rages, sniffing the sweet-smelling cows (*surabhi* is also the fabulous cow of plenty) of the land of Ghoṣa, in which grove Indra's (*hareḥ*) elephant ruts, lusting for his (Krishna's) [passion-] agitated she-elephant." (39 = 139)

Ignoring the points that are not entirely clear to me, I take this stanza to refer to the notion that at the time when Krishna danced the Rāsalīlā with the *gopīs* all the



FIGS. 31 AND 32

PLATE CXVI. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings* gods came to witness the performance, riding on their "vehicles." The peacock is Kārttikeya's vehicle, the bull Shiva's, and the elephant Indra's. They too are considered here to have been infected with the love madness and to have exhibited it. But our picture puts all the emphasis upon Shiva, who is indeed mentioned in the text, but only in a guise secondary to that of Krishna. The fact that his name, in the second line of the stanza, appears in the nominative case (*dhurjatiḥ*), when the context indicates that a genitive is needed, may have helped to mislead the artist. The representation of Shiva bearing aloft Śeṣanāga may possibly be due to a faulty interpretation of the word of the manuscript *śeṣarabharāiḥ*, which by some inexact consideration of the artist might have been given the impossible construction "supporting Śeṣa." It is, of course, obvious that the consonant *ṣ* here, as frequently, stands for *kh*.

This explanation of the picture, unsatisfactory as it is to accept, is the best I can offer.

FIGURE 18. Folio 28, *recto*. Forest scene, with Krishna and Rādhā in a love passage. Clouds overhead.

FIGURE 19. Folio 30, *recto*. Scene beside the Yamunā, which appears in the foreground. At the right appears a male figure bearing the infant Krishna, a garland above the child, the serpent Śeṣanāga following with heads upraised to give protection. The man might be either Vasudeva, carrying the child from Kaṁsa's prison or Nanda receiving him. At the left are two women, one probably being Yaśodā, with the infant Krishna supported between them. Clouds are above. The text is not specific about the personages in the picture, only giving praise to Krishna and invoking a vision of the Yamunā bank.

FIGURE 20. Folio 31, *recto*. Krishna in the forest playing his flute and holding his cowherd's crook. Before him two cowherds and beneath him in the picture bulls and cows, some with their calves sucking, all joyously listening to the music. Trees and clouds are in the scene. As usual, Krishna's flute appears behind his neck instead of at his lips, although he is playing it.

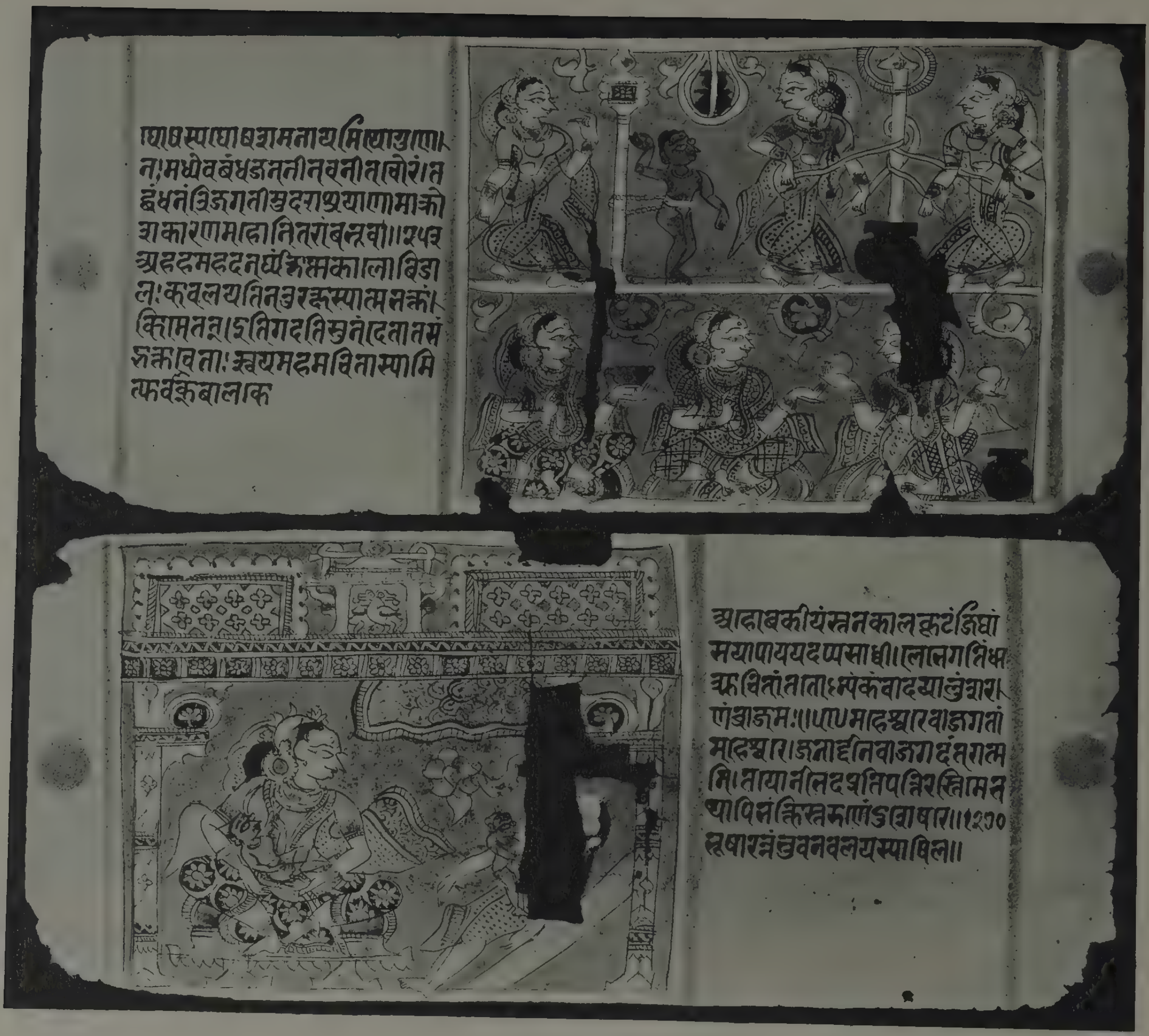
FIGURE 21. Folio 32, *recto*. A four-armed Vishnu is seated on his throne, with mace, discus, and conch in three of his hands, and his vehicle, the man-bird Garuda, kneeling before the throne; over each an honorific parasol. According to stanza 167 the author worships the fair-faced son of Vasudeva (Krishna), whose neck has around it a garland of the virtuous *tulasī* leaves, whose breast is adorned with the *kāustubha* jewel, a net of loveliness (*kāntijāla*); on his forehead, the moon. At the left is a female fly-whisk bearer; at the right, under a canopy, a male figure offering a garland to the god. This is possibly the worshipping author, although somewhat more splendid in appearance than is the general case when such a one is represented.

FIGURE 22. Folio 33, *recto*. Krishna, described in stanza 171 as the crest-jewel of the cowherds; on his forehead, a spot of musk; on his breast, the *kāustubha* jewel; at the end of his nose, a pearl (ring); in his hand, his flute; on his wrist, a bracelet; on all his body marks of the worship of Vishnu; around his neck a string of pearls; he is himself surrounded by the cowherds' wives. Not all these ornaments are present in the painting. Of the *gopīs* one is a fly-whisk bearer, and three offer vessels of milk or curds. Clouds are above.

FIGURE 23. Folio 35, *recto*. Krishna playing his flute and delighting four cowherds, with crooks, and the cows. Clouds are pictured above. Two small expanded lotus blossoms are used to fill out the composition.

FIGURE 24. Folio 38, *recto*. Scene similar to that in the preceding picture, but with only three cowherds, and these in different poses from those of the preceding.

FIGURE 25. Folio 39, *recto*. Forest scene, with clouds overhead. Krishna bears in his two hands his conch Pāñcajanya, which he took from a demon of the sea named



FIGS. 33 AND 34

PLATE CXVII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

Pañcajana (also called Śaṅkhāsura). The cows gaze at him enraptured. The text of stanza 203 (in the manuscript wrongly numbered 103) bears upon the scene:

sa pāñcajanyaḥ karapallavābhyāṁ
niveśitaḥ kṛṣṇamukhāravinde (MS °*vande*)
rarāja gokṣīramṛṇālagāuras
tripadmamadhyastha ivāiṣa haṁsaḥ. (203)

"The conch Pāñcajanya set in the two shoots of his hands, before the lotus of his face, white as a milky lotus-fibre, shines here like a swan in the midst of three lotuses." (203)

FIGURE 26. Folio 40, *recto*. An elaborate architectural setting, with Krishna (four-armed) and a *gopī* (possibly Rādhā) lying together in a swing. Two other *gopīs* keep the swing in motion. The problem of placing two figures in the swing lying side by side seems to have been too much for the artist. He has simply drawn two standing figures placed horizontally in the picture. They are actually meant to be lying side by side, as a careful examination of the relative attitudes will show, not with the *gopī* above Krishna, as might at first be thought. The artist, in addition to facing difficulties which were beyond his powers, is also observing the usual rule of "vertical perspective," which requires him to present the scene as though viewing it from above. The scene is indicated in stanza 208 (Number 8 according to the notation in the manuscript):

gopībhir āsvādyamukhaṁ vimuktaḥ (MS °*ta*)
śete sma rātrāu sukham eva keśavaḥ
stanāntareṣv eva babhūva tāsāṁ
kāmī 'va kāntādharapallavaṁ piban. (208)

"Leaving his face to be enjoyed by the *gopīs*, Keśava (Krishna) lay comfortably at night; he was in the hollow of their breasts drinking (kissing) the shoot of the lower lip like a lover." (208)

FIGURE 27. Folio 41, *recto*. Krishna seated with a *gopī*. The text describes him in customary terms, and expresses the wish that "we" may always adore him and may have the vision of him.

FIGURE 28. Folio 42, *recto*. Forest scene with clouds above. Two *gopīs* offer bowls to Krishna, who appears as a cowherd, carrying the crooked staff. Four cowherds are represented at the bottom of the picture. Again the author, after describing Krishna in familiar phrases, invokes the vision of him.

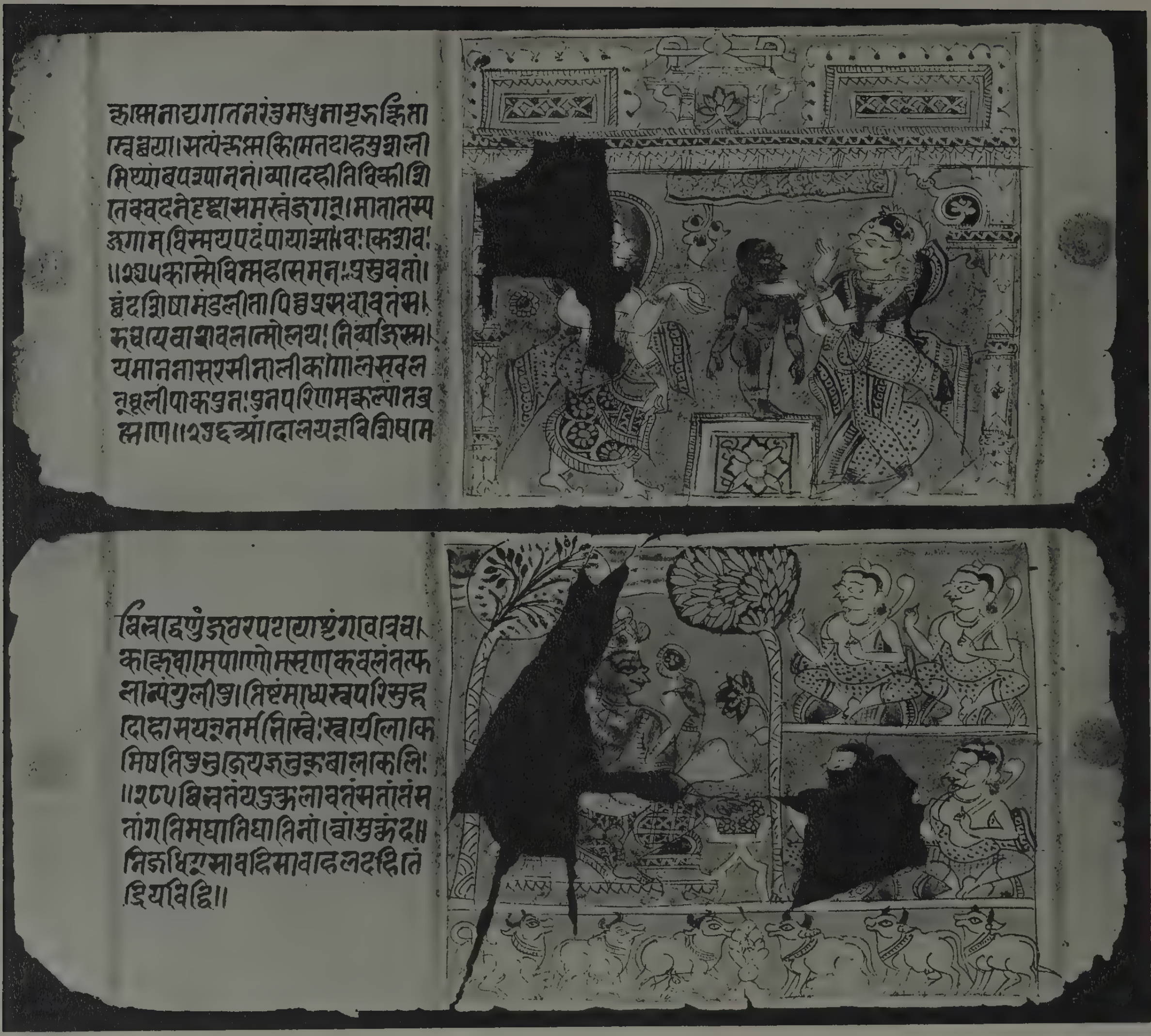
FIGURE 29. Folio 44, *recto*. At the upper right the cows in their pen. At midnight hearing the sound of Krishna's flute and longing for him, they break their bond, and disregarding danger, with themselves their own leaders, follow the music. This is essentially the translation of stanza 231. At the bottom left is Krishna playing his flute, and in the rest of the scene are *gopīs* in various postures.

Stanza 231 is as follows:

niśamya veṇudhvanisiddhamantraṁ
mādhuryam ādhāryā (MS *ādhurya*) *harer niśīthe*
ālānam ācchidya bhayaṁ nirasya
gāvaḥ (MS *gāva*) *svagopyaḥ svaram anvayus tam.* (231)

FIGURE 30. Folio 45, *recto*. A forest scene of cows following Krishna who plays his flute. It is described in stanza 236. The mystical interpretation is apparent.

svāiraṁ carantyo navasatphalāni (MS *navaśaṭphelāni*)
cchāyāsu vṛndāvanapādapānām
panthānam āpur nigamāntagandhīny
āghrāya (MS *āṁghrāya*) *govindapadāni gāvaḥ.* (236)



FIGS. 35 AND 36

PLATE CXVIII. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

"Grazing at will on the fresh pomegranates amid the shade of the trees in Vṛndāvana, the cows found their way by sniffing the footprints (or, by kissing the feet; or, the verses) of Govinda, which were scented with the essence of the Scripture." (236)

Figure 31. Folio 46, *recto*. Vishnu, four-armed, bearing mace, discus, and conch, seated on a throne in a pavilion tilted backwards (compare Folio 18). Kneeling before him is his vehicle, the man-bird Garuḍa. Over each is an honorific parasol. Facing Vishnu in an attitude of adoration stands a male figure, possibly that of the author. In the upper right-hand corner is a *tulasī* plant in a pot. On the roof of Vishnu's spired pavilion is a parrot.

Stanza 242:

ayi pañkajanetramūlimūlatulasīmañjari kiṁ cid arpayāmi (MS °*miṁ*)
avabodhaya pārthasārathe tvaṁ caranābjāiḥ saraṇābhilāṣiṇaṁ (MS
°*nāṁ*) *mām*. (242)

"Hail, thou who wearest a cluster of the *tulasī* on a base that has thy lotus-eyes as its base (that is, the forehead), I would offer thee something. With the lotuses of thy feet, O charioteer of Arjuna, awaken me as I come to thee seeking refuge." (242)

This is an allusion to the familiar Hindu idea that the touch of an auspicious person's foot will cause trees or plants to leaf or flower. The *tulasī* plant is sacred to Vishnu.

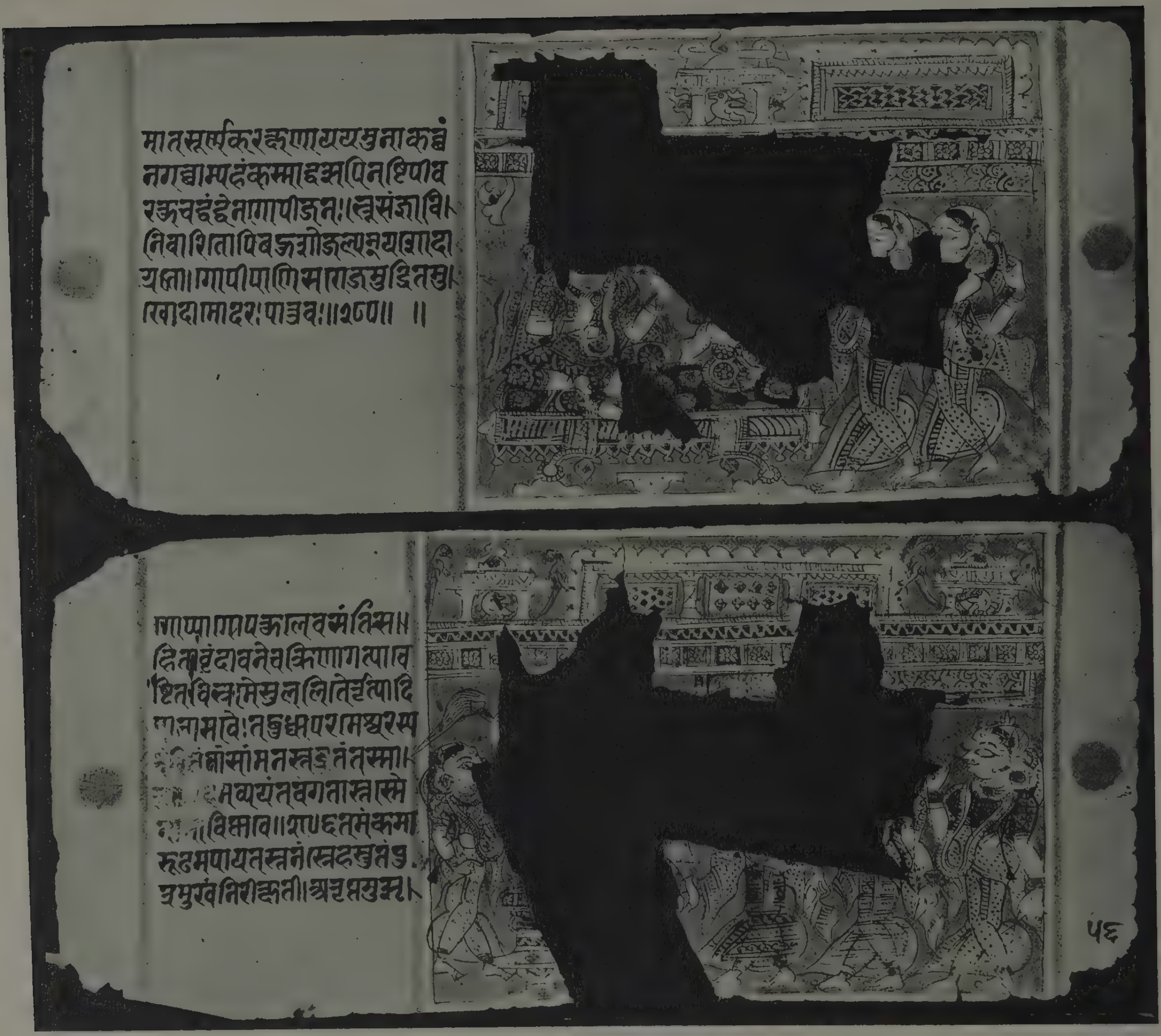
Figure 32. Folio 47, *recto*. The scene is beside the banks of the Yamunā. Krishna appears in four-armed form, bearing two of Vishnu's attributes, the mace and the discus. The text in stanza 248 speaks of him as being in his youthful form. Before him appear three figures in attitudes of adoration. The nearest to Krishna is the author, who says he worships Krishna. The other two are sages wearing long hair bound up, which is characteristic of them in this series. They are meant to be Nārada and some other, who, according to the same stanza, serve Krishna (*nāradādimunibhiś ca sevitaṁ*). A potted *tulasī* plant appears in the upper right-hand corner, and two swans in the lower left-hand.

Figure 33. *Folio* 48, *recto*. In the upper division there appear, at the left Krishna tied to a stake (compare Folio 6, *verso*) in punishment for stealing butter and curds, with a *gopī* (possibly Yaśodā) standing behind him, and at the right two *gopīs* churning. At the very top are two vessels suspended from the ceiling in a device made of ropes; even these Krishna was always able to obtain. In the lower division are seated three *gopīs*, one holding a vessel, another two balls of butter. In stanza 253 allusion is made to the tying of Krishna.

ghoṣasya ghoṣaśamanāya mitho guṇena
madhye babandha (MS *vabandha*) *jananī navanītacāuram*
tad bandhanaṁ trijagatām (MS °*gatīm*) *udarāśrayāṇām*
ākrośakāraṇam aho nitarāṁ babhūva. (253)

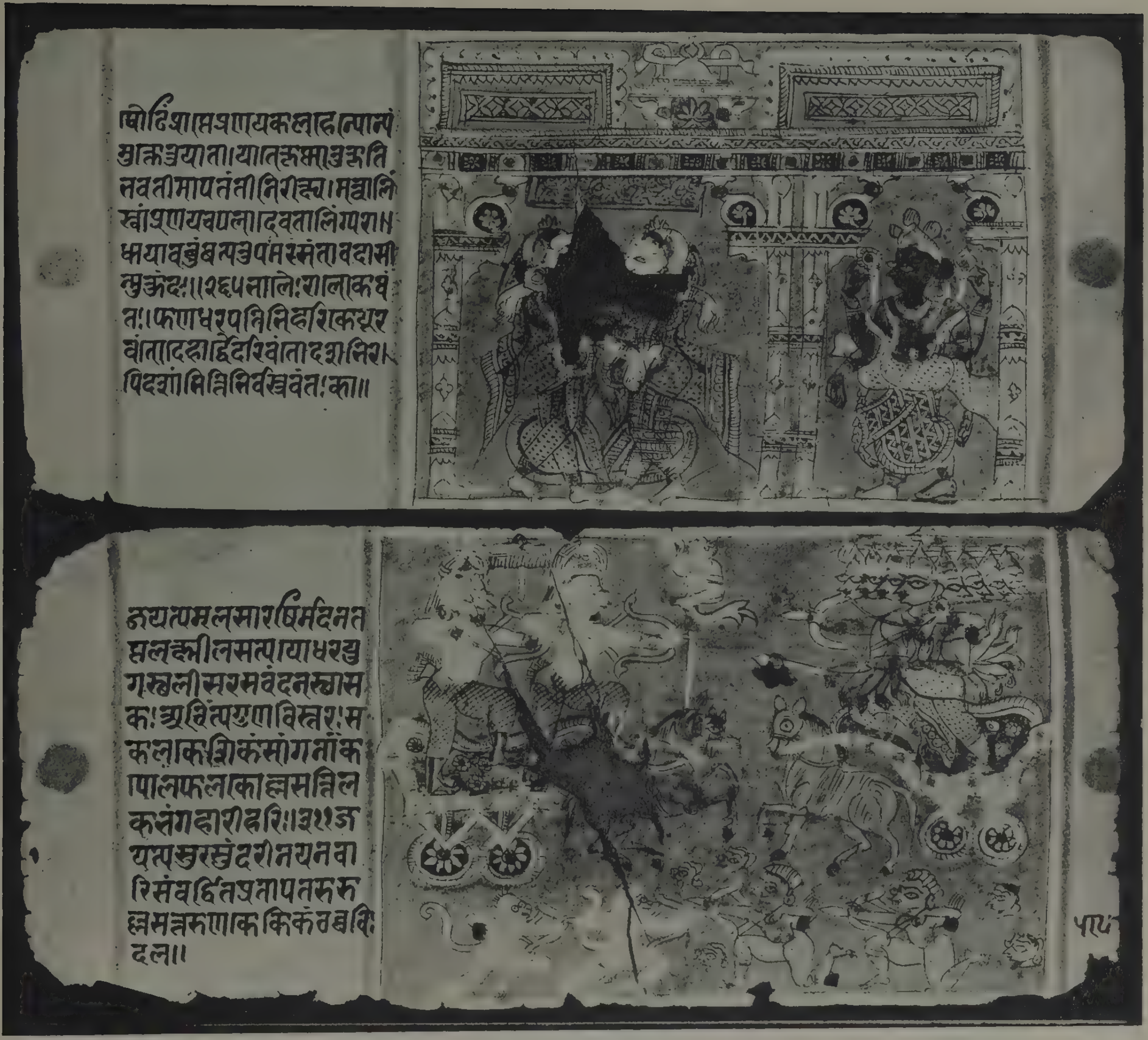
"His mother tied the butter-thief by the waist with a thong to still the complaints of Ghoṣa. That bondage, indeed, became without mitigation a cause of outcry for the three worlds, whose refuge is his lap." (253)

Figure 34. Folio 51, *recto*. Architectural setting. On the face of the small balcony at the top is a design of two swans with intertwined necks, which is frequent in Indian art. The picture illustrates the story of Krishna and the she-demon Pūtanā. When Krishna was a few days old, king Kaṁsa sent Pūtanā to kill him. She filled her breasts with poison, dressed herself in fine clothes and ornaments, went to the house of Nanda and Yaśodā, praised the appearance of Krishna, and asked Yaśodā to let her nurse him. Yaśodā suspecting nothing handed over the child. But when Krishna sucked Pūtanā's breast, he sucked out her very life, and she fell over dead,



FIGS. 37 AND 38

PLATE CXIX. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*



FIGS. 39 AND 40

PLATE CXX. *Brown: Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings*

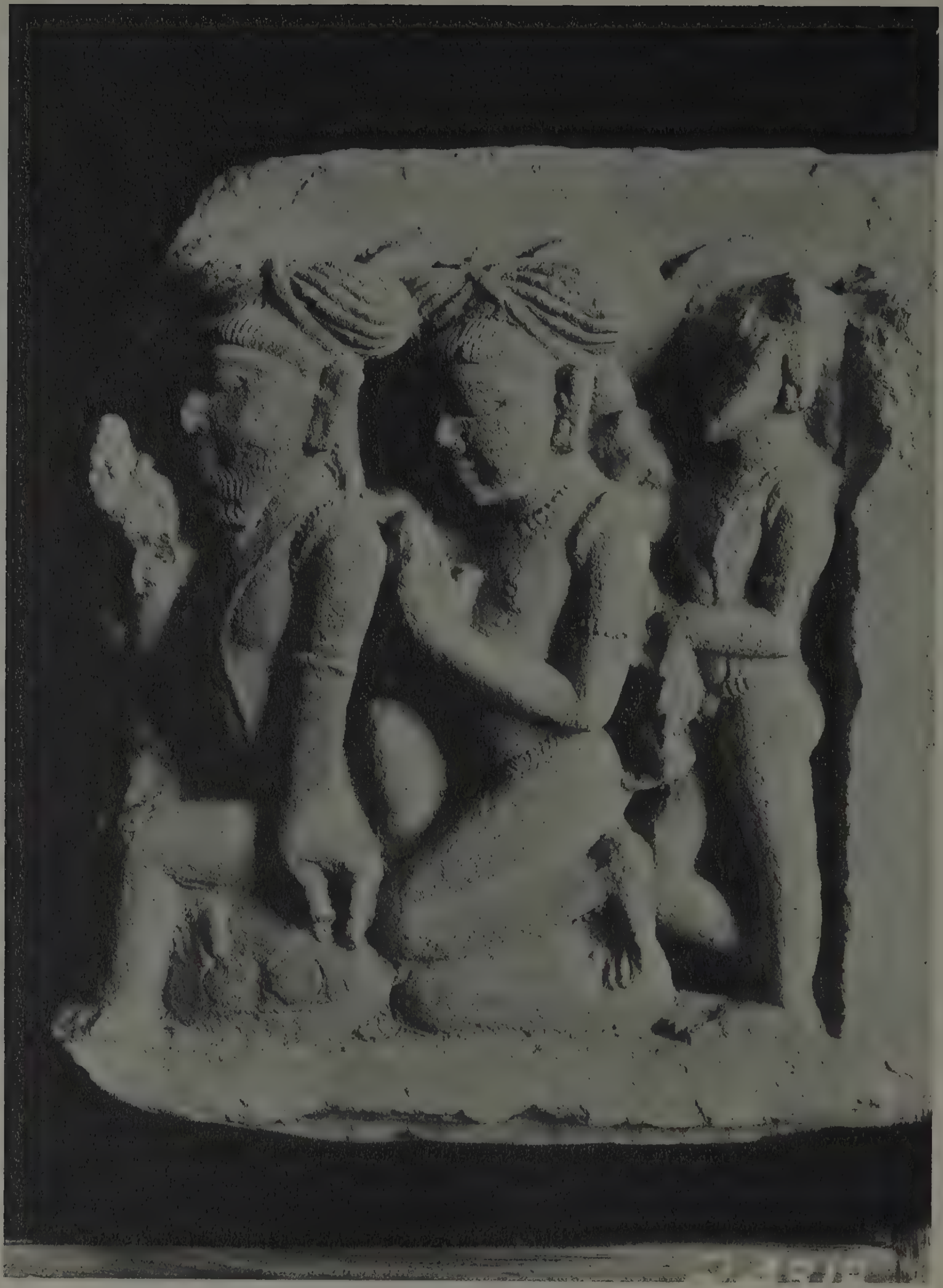


FIG. 41. GROUP OF WORSHIPPERS. INDIAN SCULPTURE, ABOUT ELEVENTH CENTURY

assuming her natural form as a demon (*rākṣasī*). In folk-tales a disguised demon must at death assume its natural form. Later the cowherds cut her body to pieces. But because she had acted as his nurse, Krishna gave her salvation. The figure at the left holding Krishna is presumably that of Yaśodā. At the right is Pūtanā dying, with Krishna sucking her breast, a garland above him.

aho bakī 'yaṁ stanakālakūṭaṁ
jighāṅsayā 'pāyayad apy asādhvī
lebhe gatiṁ dhātryucitāṁ tato 'nyaṁ
kaṁ vā dayāluṁ śaraṇaṁ vrajāmaḥ (MS *vrājamaḥ*).
(269, marked 59 in the manuscript)

"Ah, Pūtanā (*bakī*)! Although this wicked creature gave him the *kālakūṭa* poison to drink from her breast, intending to kill him, she obtained a fate suitable to a nurse. Who else (besides Krishna) then, is there full of mercy, to whom we should go for refuge?" (269)

Figure 35. Folio 52, *recto*. In an architectural setting stand three figures. The male at the right probably represents Krishna's elder brother Balarāma (Baladeva); the child Krishna is in the middle; Yasodā is at the right. The picture illustrates Krishna's eating of dirt, which is narrated in stanza 275, as follows:

kṛṣṇenādya gatena rantum adhunā mṛd bhaksitā svecchayā
satyam kṛṣṇa kim etad āha muśalī mithyā 'mba paśyānanam
vyadehīti vikāśite (MS *vikīśite*) *ca vadane dṛṣṭvā samastaṁ jagad*
mātā tasya jagāma vismayapadaṁ pāyāt sa naḥ keśavaḥ. (275)

"Krishna now went to the road and ate dirt according to his desire. 'Truly, Krishna, what is this?' said Baladeva, but in vain. 'Mother, look at his face!' 'Open!' said she. When he opened his mouth, then his mother saw within the entire universe (the three worlds), and she was amazed. May that Keśava (Kriśhna) protect us!" (275)

Figure 36. Folio 54, *recto*. Vishnu, four-armed, is seated in his pavilion (compare Folio 18), holding in one of his upper hands the discus, and probably in the other, which does not appear in the damaged painting, his mace. The text, however, says horn and mace (*śṛṅgavetre*). At the fingers of his lower left hand are lotuses (*vāme pāṇāu masṛṇakavalaṁ*—read *°kamalaṁ?—tatphalāny aṅguliṣu*). Around his waist are the usual garments. Before him is the concourse of his friends, represented by four cowherds. The one on the lower tier nearer to Vishnu lacks the usual headdress of the cowherds, appearing more like the author (as pictured in Folios 8, *verso*, and 47) but the end of his staff seems to show at the very edge of the preserved portion of the scene. Below are the cows.

Figure 37. Folio 53, *recto*. The picture is badly damaged, but it is clear that it consisted of Krishna in the center (the tip of his blue elbow is visible, and one blue foot), two *gopī* attendants at the right, and a female facing him. The text would indicate that this is Yaśodā. We have in stanza 280:

mātas tarṇṇakarakṣaṇāya (MS *mātasūrṇṇaka°*) *yamunākacchaṁ na gacchāmy ahaṁ*
kasmād vatsa pinaṣṭi pīvarakucadvamdvena gopījanaḥ
bhrūsaṁjñāvinivārito 'pi bahuśo jalpan yaśodāgrato
gopīpāṇisarojamudritamukho dāmodaraḥ pātu vaḥ. (280)

" 'Mother, I am not going to the Yamunā bank to herd the calves.' 'Why not, my child?' 'The *gopīs* distress me with their contests as to who has the fullest breasts.' Although frequently reproved by Yaśodā with brow-admonishment, he continued talking before her. May Dāmodara (Belly-bound, Krishna), whose face is marked with the lotus-hands of the *gopīs*, protect you!" (280)

The giving of signs by means of the eyebrows is a rubric in the wider subject of "language of gesture." For its use in the dance, see Coomaraswamy, *The Mirror of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1917), page 24.

FIGURE 38. Folio 56, *verso*. This badly damaged painting obviously showed Krishna at the left seated on a throne, with a *gopī* attending him as a whisk-bearer. At the right were three *gopīs* who appear to have been doing honour to Krishna. The cornice of the building is ornamented with two small *chattris* (bowers) on which appear swans. Perched on the edges of these bowers are parrots. The stanzas do not seem related to the painting, in so far as I can guess the subject of the scene.

FIGURE 39. Folio 50, *recto*. Interior scene. At the left two *gopīs* embracing; at the right Krishna, four-armed, is watching them. The interpretation of the scene is perhaps indicated by stanza 265:

> *prāuḍhiṁ prāpte praṇayakalahe 'ṇyonyamukte* (MS °*nyaṁ mukte*) *tu yātā-*
> *yāte kṛṣṇānukṛtibhavatīm āpatantī nirīkṣya*
> *matvā 'liṁ svāṁ praṇayacapalād eva sāliṅgya* (MS *tāliṅgya*) *rādhā*
> *yāvac cumbaty anupamarasaṁ tāvad āsīn mukundaḥ.* (265)

For this I suggest: "When their love conflict had reached its climax and they were going here and there separated from each other, Rādhā, flying towards a lady in the guise of Krishna, looked at her, thought it was her confidante, and in the hastiness of her love embraced her; when she kissed her with supreme devotion, it was Krishna." (265)

The situation is possibly that in the forest when Krishna at the time of the Rāsalīlā deserts, first, the *gopīs*, then Rādhā. They all search for him. The picture would show Rādhā and Krishna separated, and then, by application of the principle of "continuous narrative," Rādhā embracing the friend.

FIGURE 40. Folio 59, *verso*. The scene is the battle between Rāma, hero of the epic Rāmāyaṇa, and his enemy, the demon Rāvaṇa. Rāma was the seventh *avatāra* of Vishnu; his wife was Sītā. The ten-headed demon Rāvaṇa abducted Sītā and carried her to his fortress in Laṅkā (generally regarded as Ceylon). Hanumat, the general of the monkeys, assembled his forces to aid Rāma, bridged the strait between India and Ceylon by means of peaks brought down from the Himalayas, and then with Rāma and Rāma's brother, Lakṣmaṇa, advanced against the demon. After various preliminary events, Rāma defeated Rāvaṇa and recovered Sītā.

In the picture Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa appear in their chariot, which is drawn by two horses, and opposite them Rāvaṇa in his chariot, with only one animal—its tail looks like that of a donkey. Above the two heroes is a parasol. They wear long hair, as the other gods generally do in this series. Each holds a drawn bow and has a quiver by his side; only the ends of the arrows can be seen protruding from the quivers. Their costume consists of a kind of trousers (*paijāma*) tucked into boots with tips curved back. Before them on a standard is Hanumat. Eight of Rāvaṇa's heads appear as human heads, but bearing hair like that of the gods and the usual pointed headdress; a ninth head is supposed to be in the back, out of sight. In the center above these heads is Rāvaṇa's tenth head, that of a donkey, symbolizing his lustful character—with Hindus the ass is considered the lecherous animal—and perhaps also his stupidity. Rāvaṇa's costume, unlike that of Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, is that usually worn by males in this series. Fifteen of his twenty hands are represented, some of which handle his bow and his battle-axe.

Two monkey warriors with drawn bows accompany Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa, and two warriors in human form, closely resembling the cowherd type of this series, accompany Rāvaṇa. The severed heads of five more of Rāvaṇa's warriors rest upright on the ground.

FIGURE 41. Indian sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. A group of worshippers, of whom the first two are certainly sages (*ṛṣi*) and possibly the third as well. Western or Central India, about eleventh century.

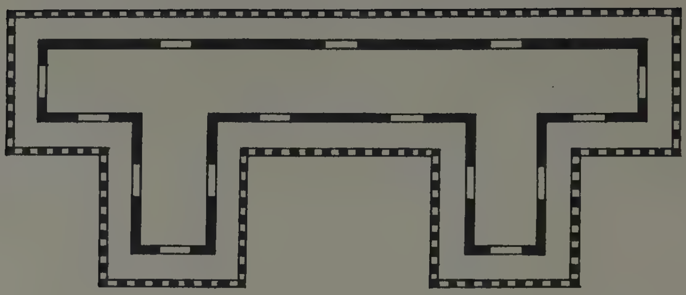


FIG. 1. UPPER STOREY (*uttamāgāra*)

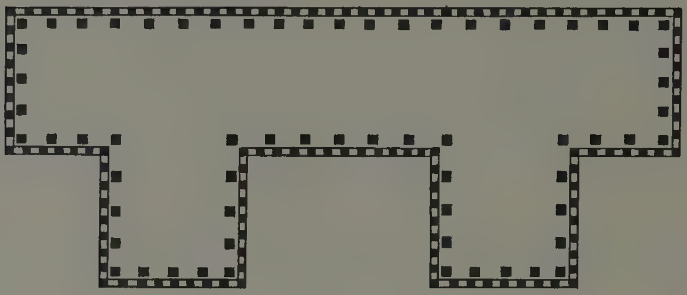


FIG. 2. SECOND STOREY (*ardhatala*)

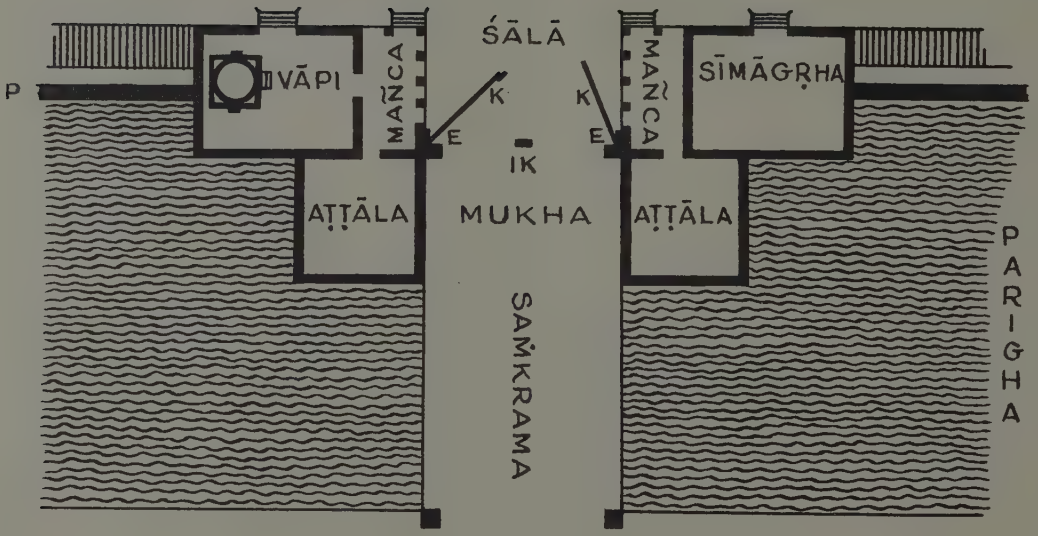

ŚĀLĀ
VĀPI
MAÑCA
MAÑCA
SĪMĀGṚHA
P
P
K
K
E
E
IK
AṬṬĀLA
MUKHA
AṬṬĀLA
SAṀKRAMA
PARIGHA

FIG. 3. GROUND FLOOR (*āditala*) WITH BRIDGE AND MOAT

Plans of a city gate (based on Kauṭilīya Arthaṣāstra and early reliefs)

Plate CXXII. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture*

EARLY INDIAN ARCHITECTURE[1]

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

I. CITIES AND CITY-GATES, ETC.

The old Indian city is by no means to be regarded as a typically Brahmanical institution. Apart from the fact that we have remains of well-developed pre-Aryan cities in the Indus Valley sites,[2] and from the fact that the Vedas make occasional reference to the "cities of the Dasyus," it is to be observed that in the Brahmanical law books, which are very nearly, if not quite contemporary with the architectural period to be discussed below, cities are despised, and there are no ceremonies for urban life; the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra*, II, 3, 6, 33, says "It is impossible for one to obtain salvation, who lives in a town covered with dust."

Flourishing cities nevertheless certainly existed in centuries preceding the Christian era. Megasthenes writing, about 300 B. C., described Pāṭaliputra as over nine miles in length. References to and descriptions of cities, and city organization in Buddhist literature, in KA., and in the Epics, and the representations in early Buddhist reliefs all suggest that in the Maurya period we have already to do, not with any new developments, but with the continuation of a long-established and familiar type of urban organization.

Some of the most detailed descriptions of cities are to be found in Mil. 1, 34, and 330 ff. The last of these, despite its length, may be quoted in full. "Just as the architect of a city, when he wants to build one, would first search out a pleasant spot of ground, with which no fault can be found, even, with no hills or gullies in it, free from rough ground, and rocks, not open to danger of attack. And then when he has made plain any rough places there may still be on it, he would clear it thoroughly of all stumps and stakes, and would proceed to build there a city fine and regular, measured out into quarters, with excavated moats and ramparts about it, with stout gate-houses and towers, with market-places, cross-roads, street-corners, and public squares, with cleanly and even main roads, with regular lines of open shops, well-provided with parks, gardens, lakes, lotus-ponds, and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples of the gods, free from every fault. And then, when the city stood there in all its glory, he would go away to some other land." There follows a long list of those who will inhabit such a city, nobles, soldiers, craftsmen, and of the foreigners who will resort to it: "all these coming to take up their residence there, and finding the new city to be regular, faultless, perfect, and pleasant, would know 'Able indeed must that architect have been by whom this city was built!' Just so . . . the Blessed One's City of Righteousness has righteousness for its rampart, and fear of sin for its moat, knowledge for its city-gate, zeal for the

---

[1] Mainly as referred to in the Pali literature and as represented in the reliefs of Bharhut, Sāñcī, and Amarāvatī. Terms are cited in Pali, Sanskrit, or Prakrit, according to their source. Where no particular text is cited, it is to be understood that the term is of very common occurrence, or that the sense is well known.

Abbreviations: Cull., *Cullavagga;* DhA., *Dhammapada Atthakathā;* DHA, Acharya, *Dictionary of Hindu architecture;* Div., *Divyāvadāna;* DN., *Dīgha Nikāya;* IAT., my *Indian architectural terms*, JAOS, vol. 48, 1928; J., *Jātaka* (Fausböll); KA., *Kauṭilīya Arthaṣāstra* (Bk II, Ch. 21 unless otherwise stated); Mhv., *Mahāvaṁsa;* Mv., *Mahāvagga;* Mil., *Milindapañha*; MN., *Mayjhima Nikāya;* MSA., my *Mediæval Sinhalese art;* PvA., *Pethavatthu Atthakathā;* SBE., *Sacred Books of the East*

The *vaḍḍhakī*, *vaḍḍhakī* (Skt. *vardhakī*), architect, builder, carpenter (also shipwright, J. VI, 432), is by far the most important and oftenest mentioned of the craftsmen. Cf. Miln. 345. "When men see a pleasant city, they know by inference how great the *vaḍḍhakī* was." In J. II, 208, we have a Brāhmaṇavaḍḍhakī. Tools used by *vaḍḍhakīs* include adzes (*vāsi*, J. II, 18 and IV, 344); chisels (*nikhādana*, J. IV, 344), hammers (*muggara*, ib.), measuring line (*sutta*, *kāla sutta*, J. IV, 344 and VI, 332, pegged out with wooden pegs, *khāṇuka*, J. VI, 332); they work *sippānurūpena* "according to *silpa*-plans," perhaps a reference to *śilpa-śastras* (cf. *sippa*, *sippavant* in Pali Dictionaries). DHA rendering of *vardhakī* as "painter" is absurd. In Mhv. LXXXVIII, 106, 107, *itthikā-*, *cuṇṇa-*, *dāru-* and *silā-vaḍḍhakīs* are mentioned, i.e., bricklayers, plasterers, timberers (carpenters) and masons. While *vaḍḍhakī*, alone, is the carpenter as architect, we also get *tacchaka* as woodworker, Mil. 413.

[2] "The true creators of the city state were the Sumerians . . . the higher city civilisations of the Old World from the Mediterranean to India do form a great unity, and it seems possible to affirm their fundamental community alike in type and origin," Dawson, *The age of the gods*, pp. 117, 118. In other words, the city in Indian culture belongs to the "Early Asiatic" inheritance, and certainly cannot be regarded either as characteristically Aryan, or as a recent development in Maurya times.

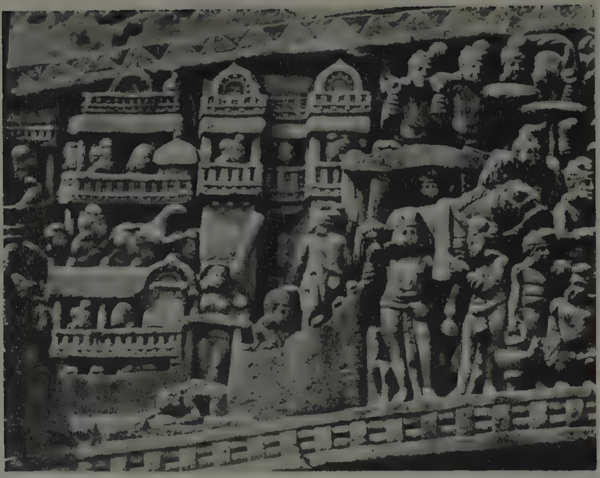


FIG. 4. CITY OF KAPILAVATTHU

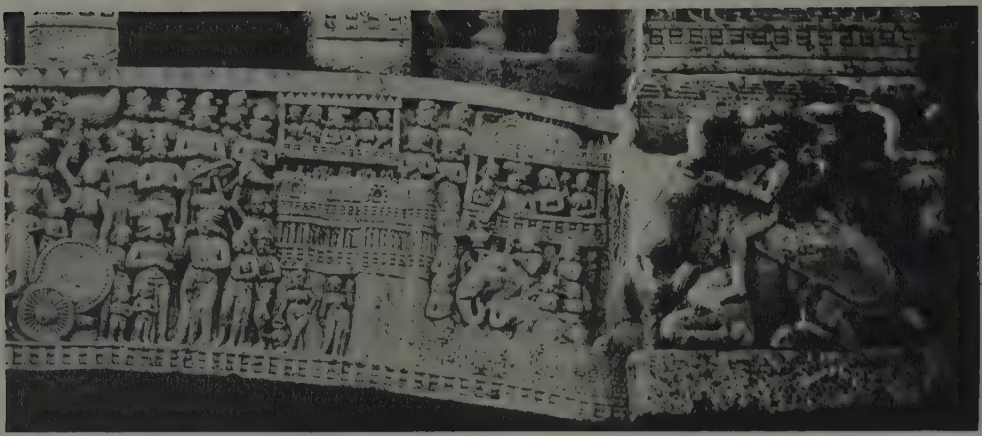


FIG. 5. CITY OF JETUTTARA (*Vessantara Jātaka*)

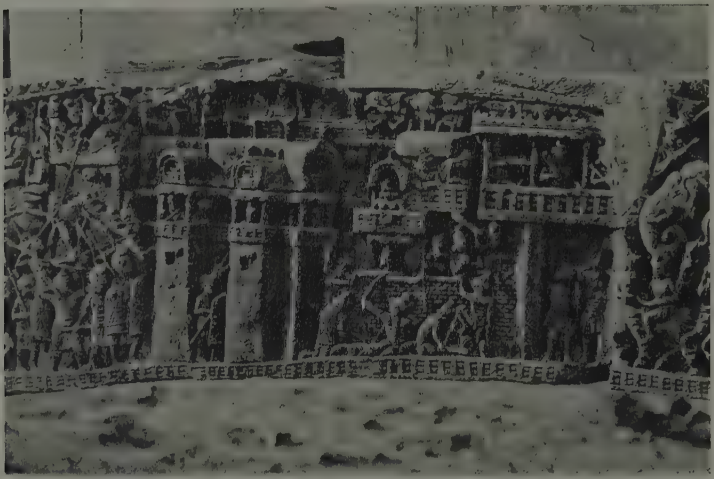


FIG. 6. CITY OF KUSINĀRĀ (WAR OF THE RELICS)

City gates, from Sāñcī

PLATE CXXIII. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* gate-tower, faith for the pillars at its base, mindfulness for the guard, and wisdom for the palace, the Suttantas for the market place, the Abhidhamma for the public square, the Vinaya for its judgment hall, and constant self-possession for its street."[3]

Let us now assemble the available data in a more systematic way. Cities (*nagara*, *pura*) are built by city or master architects (*nagara-vaḍḍhakī*, *mahā-°*, Mil. 1, 2, 330; J. VI, 332), assisted by other carpenters (*vaḍḍhakī*, J. II, 18; IV, 153, 344; VI, 4, 27, etc.) and bricklayers (*iṭṭhaka-vaḍḍhakī*, Mhv. XXX, 5; J. VI, 333). All these live in villages, and are summoned when work is to be done. Of the carpenters in particular we learn that they lived in villages of their own, going up river to cut and fetch timber for town houses (J. II, 18; VI, 427). Eighteen guilds of craftsmen are employed in building a new city, and amongst these guilds (*seṇi*) are cited the aforesaid carpenters, the superior smiths (*kammāra*), workmen (*cammakāra*),[4] decorators and painters (*cittakāra*), "and others skilled in various crafts (*sippa*)" (J. VI, 427, cf. list of craftsmen in Mil. 331), who work according to the traditions of their craft (*sippānurūpena*, J. VI, 332).

The most conspicuous and necessary parts of a city are the moat (*pārikhā*) and rampart (*pākāra*), gates (*dvāra*, *gopura*), more specifically gate-houses (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*), with their defense towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*, *gopura-°*), other defense towers within and near, but not upon the rampart (*antaraṭṭāla*, J. II, 400), and the king's palace (*pāsāda*, *harmya*, *rāja-nivesana*, *vimāna*, etc.). Then there are other mansions (*nivesana*, *kūṭāgāra*) and houses (*geha*), temples (*devaṭṭhāna*, Mil. 92, 330; *koṣṭhaka*, a temple granary, KA., Ch. 25), granaries (*koṭṭha*, *koṭṭhaka*), resthouses or sarais (*sālā*, *puṇya-sālā*, J. I, 200 = *vissamana-sālā*, DhA. I, 269/270), halls and arenas for sport (*kīḷa-sālā*, *kīḷa-maṇḍala*, J. VI, 332/333 monasteries (*paṇṇa-sālā*), almonries (*dāna-sālā*, at city and palace gates, J. I, 262, IV, 402, VI, 97, 484, 487; *dānagga* "in hundreds," Mil. 2) elephant stables (*hatthi-sālā* J. VI, 432, etc.), shops (*āpaṇa*), bazaars (*antarāpaṇa*, Mil. 2), saloons, cook-shops, taverns, slaughterhouses (*pānāgara*, *odaniyā-ghara*, *soṇḍā*, *suṇā*, J. VI, 276, etc.).

There are parks (*uyyāna*, Mil. 34; J. III, 238, VI, 333), gardens (*ārāma*, Mil. 34) and flower-gardens (*pupphārāma*, DhA. I, 270), lotus ponds and bathing tanks (*pokkharaṇi*, *nāhana-pokkharaṇi*, *nāhanodaka*, *udapāna*, *taḷāka*); sacred trees (*rukkha-cetiya*, often at the gates). There are main streets (*rāja-magga*, *mahā-patha*, *toraṇa-magga*, J. I, 199/200, III, 217, etc.), ordinary streets (*vīthi*, J. I, 89, and *antaravīthi*, J. I, 340), alleys and blind lanes (*patatthi*, *sandhi-bbūha*, J. III, 217), a main public square (*singhāṭaka*, Mil. 62; J. VI, 276), a market place (*caccara*, Mil. 332, meaning rather dubious), other squares and street crossings (*cattuka*, Mil. 34; J. I, 326 and 340; *sandhi*, Mil. 330). That some streets at least were exclusively inhabited by members of particular trades or castes, as in modern Indian cities, is indicated by J. VI, 485, *vessānaṁ vīthiyā*, *vessa-vithiyā*, "street of the Vaiśyas or merchants." Evidently the four main streets (*catumahāpatha*, J. I, 199/200) led direct from the gates to the central square (*singhāṭaka*) on which the palace abutted; for a city elder from the *singhāṭaka* can see a man coming from East, South, West or North (Mil. 62); a man proceeds directly from the city gate to the palace (J. VI, 412); and the *catumahāpathe*, as the place where a sarai is built (J. I, 200/201) is clearly equivalent to *singhāṭake*. A drain or sewer (*niddhamana*, *niddhamana-magga*, J. I, 425, 490) leads out of the city, and it is possible for a man to make his escape by it. Outside the city are suburbs (*nigama*, J. VI, 330), and rural villages (*yava-majjhaka-gāma*, J. VI, 330).

The city is laid out in quarters, *bhāgaso mitaṁ*, Mil. 1, J. VI, 46, etc. The plan is rectangular, usually square, with four gates, one in the middle of each wall, facing

---

[3] Based on the translation in SBE XXXVI, with verbal changes.

[4] *Cammakāra*, "leather-workers," but often apparently equivalent to *rathakāra*, wright or artisan generally, e.g., J. V, 174; PvA. 175. If *cammakāra*, as is not improbable, is equivalent to blacksmith or ironworker, this would be with reference to the use of leather bellows, cf. MSA., p. 194.

In J. VI, 432, sappers using leather sacks (*cammāluka*) dig earth and build ramparts; but the *cammakāra* are evidently craftsmen, not coolies.

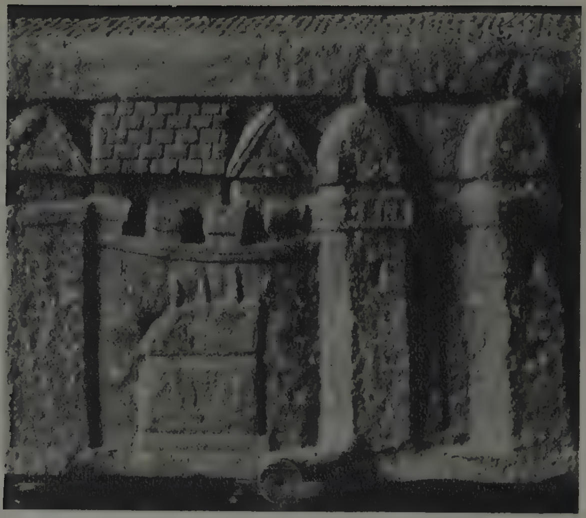


FIG. 7. FROM AN ARCHITRAVE, MATHURĀ (CAT. I, 38)

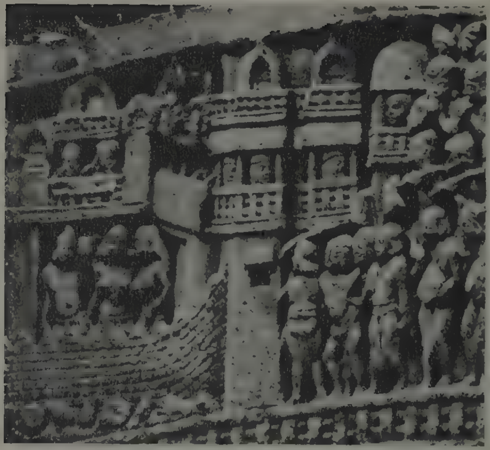


FIG. 8. CITY OF KUSINĀRĀ
(WAR OF THE RELICS)

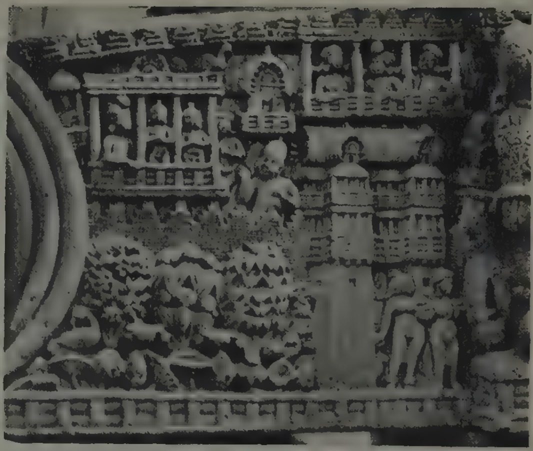


FIG. 9. CITY OF JETUTTARA
(*Vessantara Jātaka*)

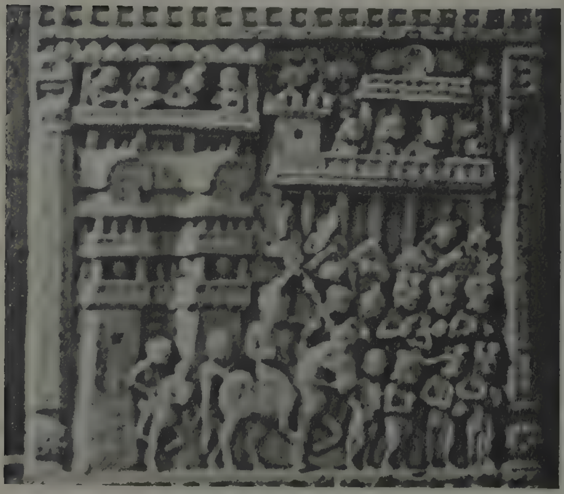


FIG. 10. CITY OF KOSALA

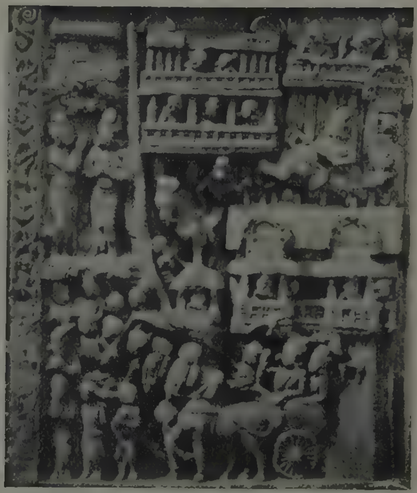


FIG. 11. CITY OF RĀJAGAHA

City gates, from Mathurā (Fig. 7) and Sāñcī (Figs. 8–11)

PLATE CXXIV. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* the four quarters (J. I, 262; II, 171, 194; III, 129; IV, 83, 425; VI, 330, 347),[5] and as we have seen, four main streets led from these gates to the centre of the city. The gates are closed at night or in time of war (J. II, 412; VI, 406), and opened in the morning in time of peace. In the most general way the gates are called *dvāra*, or less often *gopura* (J. VI, 276, has the gloss *dvāra* = *gopura*); but more specifically, the term gate-house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*) is constantly employed. As the city is approached from without, the gate-house (also called *daḷha-gopura*, *daḷham-aṭṭāla-koṭṭha*, *daḷha-gopura-aṭṭāla-koṭṭha*) came into view, with its defense towers (*dvāra-aṭṭālaka*, *gopura-aṭṭālaka*)[6] on the city side of the moat.

The city is always surrounded by a moat or moats (*parikhā*, Skt. *paligha*) or at least a dry ditch. In the reliefs, the moat is indicated by growing lotuses, and in many cases the actual water is also shown; occasionally we see women from the city going down to the moat to fetch water, and in one case there is access on the city side through a little gate, so that the moat on the city side becomes effectively a *ghāṭ* (Fig. 4). In the texts, the water is usually taken for granted, but in J. VI, 432, a water-moat, *udaka-parikhā*, is specified. In Mil. I, the moat is "deep," *gambhīra*. In Mhv. XXV, 48, we find reference to a great triple moat, *timahāparikhā*; and the gloss to *utkiṇṇantara-parikhaṁ*, "deep excavated inner moat" of J. IV, 106, defines three successive external moats, *udaka-*, *kaddama-* and *sukha-parikhā*, one within the other, respectively a water moat, a mud moat, and a pleasure moat. J. VI, 276, has *parikhāyo*, moats, in the plural.

On the city side of the moat rises the wall (*pākāra*, Skt. *prākāra*), from a foundation or plinth (*vapra*)[7], which in the case of a dry ditch should perhaps be called a glacis. It is generally indicated in the reliefs that city walls are made of brick, but in one Ṣāñcī relief (Figs. A and 4), we find what is evidently a wooden wall of palisade construction,[8] and in this case the wall is continued along the edge of the bridge leading to the gateway; the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, 30, 16 is authority for a *paṁśuprākāra*, earthen (laterite) wall, of a city. Mil. 1 has *paṇḍara-pākāra*, white wall.

Sometimes the wall is shown with reëntrant angles. It is finished off at the top either by a coping or more usually by battlements. In no case (single exception, Fig. 16), are towers on the walls represented, nor have I found any reference in the texts to the existence of such towers; defense towers are either the regular *dvāraṭṭāla* of the gate-houses, or free-standing towers (*antaraṭṭāla*) near the walls but within them (Figs. B, 6, 8, 11, etc.). The walls could be manned, having, no doubt, an inner gallery or pathway a little below the top, and approached by stairs as suggested in the plan (Fig. 3). The top (*matthaka*) of the wall was of some width: in J. VI, 275, Puṇṇaka's horse gallops along the *pākāra matthaka*.

The gate-house was approached by a bridge (*saṅkama*, Mil. 92, *saṁkrama*, KA) in the case of a water-moat, or earthen causeway (*pūrdvāri mṛtkūṭa*, *Śiśupālavadha*, III, 68, gloss) when the city was defended only by a dry ditch. Such a bridge or causeway seems to have been designated by the curious name of "elephant's nail" (*hastinakha*).[9] Such bridges, like thoroughfares, are public places, unsuited for serious talk (Mil. 92).

The traveller, crossing the bridge, and entering the city, passes between two

---

[5] But one Sāñcī relief (Fig. 6) shows two gates (one of unique form), not far apart in a single line of wall. Obviously, large cities must have had more than four gates; Pāṭaliputra, according to Megasthenes, had sixty-four. In Mhv. LXXXVIII, 116, the wall of Pulatthipura is circular: cf. representations of Ujjain in Jāina MSS., e.g. *Cat. Indian Collections, Boston*, Pt. IV, Pl. X (folio 75).

[6] In the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, *ṭīkā*, IX, 18 (Charpentier, p. 314), gloss on *gopuraṭṭāla*, we have "the towers are military structures (*āyodhasthānāni*) connected with the rampart-house (*prākārakoṣṭha*, presumably = *dvārakoṭṭhaka*).

[7] *Vapra* may be sometimes synonymous with *pākāra* (DHA, 534), but in KA XXIV we have *vaprasyopari prākāram*.

[8] Doubtless heavy planks laid horizontally and fastened by solid uprights. This type of construction is well seen in the conduit (*niddhamana?*) walls recently excavated at Pāṭaliputra (*Illustrated London News*, March 24, 1928, p. 477).

[9] "Elephant's nail," originally a kind of capital composed of addorsed elephants, their forefeet projecting beyond the abacus so as to make the toe-nails conspicuous when seen from below; secondly, a balcony or bridge supported by such a capital; finally, even a causeway substituted for such a bridge. See IAT, pp. 258, 259. (It was by an oversight (thinking of *kesara-nakha*) that I adduced *kesa-nakha* (which means hair and nail-paring relics) as a parallel here).

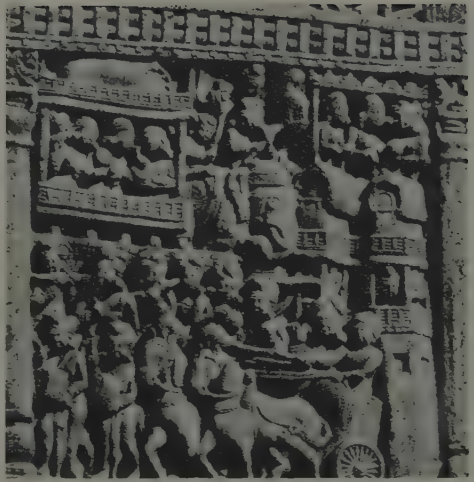


FIG. 12. CITY OF RĀJAGAHA(?)

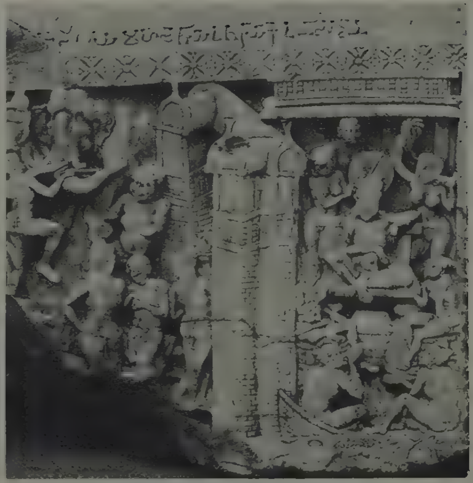


FIG. 13. CITY OF BENARES
(*Chaddanta Jātaka*)

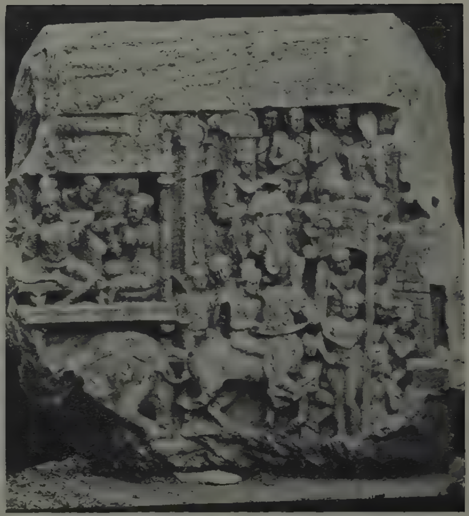


FIG. 14

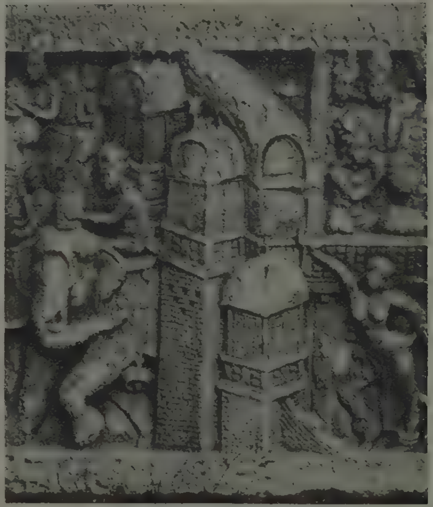


FIG. 15. CITY OF KUSINĀRĀ
(PARTITION OF THE RELICS)

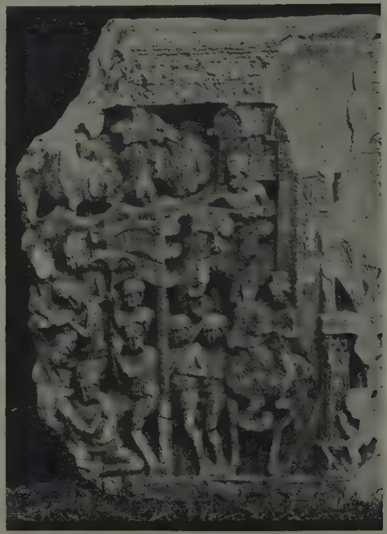


FIG. 16

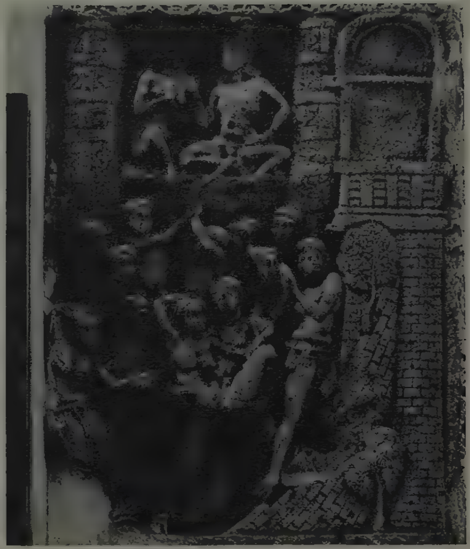


FIG. 17

City gates, Sāñcī (Fig. 12) and Amarāvatī (Figs. 13-17)

PLATE CXXV. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* high towers, the *dvāra-aṭṭālaka*, *gopura-aṭṭālaka*; these are forwardly projecting members of the gate-house, towers of defense, to be manned in case of necessity (J. II, 217, and VI, 409, and as represented in the reliefs). In J. II, 244/5 we read of a king who ascends (*abhirūhitvā*) and again comes down from (*otaritvā*) a gate-tower; in all probability these towers contained the stairways which led to the upper floors (KA, Ch. 21, discussed below).

The main part of the gate-house is even or continuous (*prākāra-sama*, KA, and as seen in the reliefs), with the rampart on either side, and in the centre bridges the great hall (*sālā*) of the gate-house, and connects the two towers already mentioned; the two ends contiguous with the rampart extending to right and left of the forwardly projecting towers are similar to these in appearance, and form, in fact, two other towers of defence. The space between the projecting towers and immediately in front of the great gate-hall is the "mouth" (*mukha*,[10] KA, Ch. 21).

It is often clearly indicated in the reliefs that the whole basement of the gate-house is of brick. In any case, the basement wall is unbroken up to the level of the second storey, except that high up on the front face of each of the forward towers there is a small horizontal slit window; or more rarely a group of small square apertures; these loopholes probably served the double purpose of lighting the stairway inside, and of a post for archers. The ends of the supporting beams of the second or mezzanine floor (*ardha-tala*, KA) are generally clearly shown, projecting at the top of the basement wall. Probably with reference to its pavilion-like construction (*sthūṇāvabandha*, KA, Ch. 21) this second floor is designated *harmya* (*ib.*); a railing (*vedikā*), pillars (*thambha*) and cornice are always clearly shown. Above this is a top floor, supporting an attic-house or roof apartment (*uttamāgāra*, KA, Ch. 21), with brick walls, four gable window ends (*mahāvatapāna*) and thatched, barrel-vaulted roof (*chaddna*), having its ridge (*kūṭa*), surmounted by finials (*ghaṭa* or *kalasa*, DhA, I, 414) on each gable and at intervals along the roof ridge. No doubt the barrel-vaulted roof was constructed as usual of curved rafters (*gopānasiyo*) resting against an internal roof-ridge (*kūṭa*, Mil. 38; DhA, I, 414), or if with apsidal ends, against circular or semi-circular roof plates (*kaṇṇikā*).[11] In J. VI, 125, the gateway of the Tāvatiṁsa heaven is called *citta-kūṭa-dvāra-koṭṭhaka* "gate-house of the painted (or decorated) roof-ridge." The same gate-house is set about with statues of Indra "as though guarded by tigers;" evidence, perhaps, that statues of a reigning king might be set up at a city gate.

The actual gateway, opened or closed as occasion required, consisted of a pair of heavy wooden panels (*kavāṭa*, Skt. *kapāṭa*), sometimes iron-bound or studded (*ayo-kammata-dvāra*, Mhv. XXV, 28) and turning on tenons above and below. The upper parts of these leaves closed against the top of the archway, (*toraṇaśiraḥ*, KA), the lower part against the heavy *indakhīla* (Skt. *indrakīla*) embedded in the ground between the pillars of the *toraṇa*, and forming a low threshold.[12] The gate leaves are not often visible in the reliefs, but can be very clearly seen in Figs. A and 4 where a half-opened leaf partly conceals a soldier standing in the entrance; and in Figs. C and 6 we see the besiegers battering on the leaves of the door (cf. *kavāṭe thāpetvā*, "beat against the door panels", in this case, however, of a palace, J. IV, 182). Having regard to the necessity of providing passage for elephants with riders, we may suppose the dimensions of the gate aperture to have been something like twenty by eighteen feet, and many existing mediæval city or fort gateways are quite as large as this; and from this, some idea of the size of the whole gate-house can be deduced.

---

[10] *Mukha*=entrance, not as structure, but as space: cf. the *bahimukha*, entrance from without, of apartments (*thāna*) in a sarai (*sālā*), J. VI, 333.

[11] See my *Pali kaṇṇikā=circular roof-plate*, to appear in J.A.O.S., vol. 50.

[12] *Indakhīla*, in DhA, II, 180, 181, a symbol of stability. Generally, "threshold," e.g., Div. 250, 20; 365, I: *Mahāvastu*, I, 195, 16; I, 235, 12; I, 308, 7: *Madhyamikasūtravṛtti*, 199, 13. In J. I, 89, *indakhīle thito* "standing at the gate" (of Kapilavatthu). In DN. II, 254, we have *chetvā khilam* (v. l. *khīlam*) *chetvā paligham inda-khīlam ūhacca-m-anejā* "all bars and bolts are hewn in twain, the threshold-stone dug up." Professor Clark informs me that *indakhīla* is rendered in Tibetan (e.g. *Mahāvyutpatti*, ed. Sakaki, 5582) by words meaning "threshold" or "steps at the threshold." *Khīla* alone = pillar (DN. II, 254), and *kīla* has this sense when *indrakīla* denotes "Indra's flagstaff" as in *Mahābhārata*, VI, 59, 122.

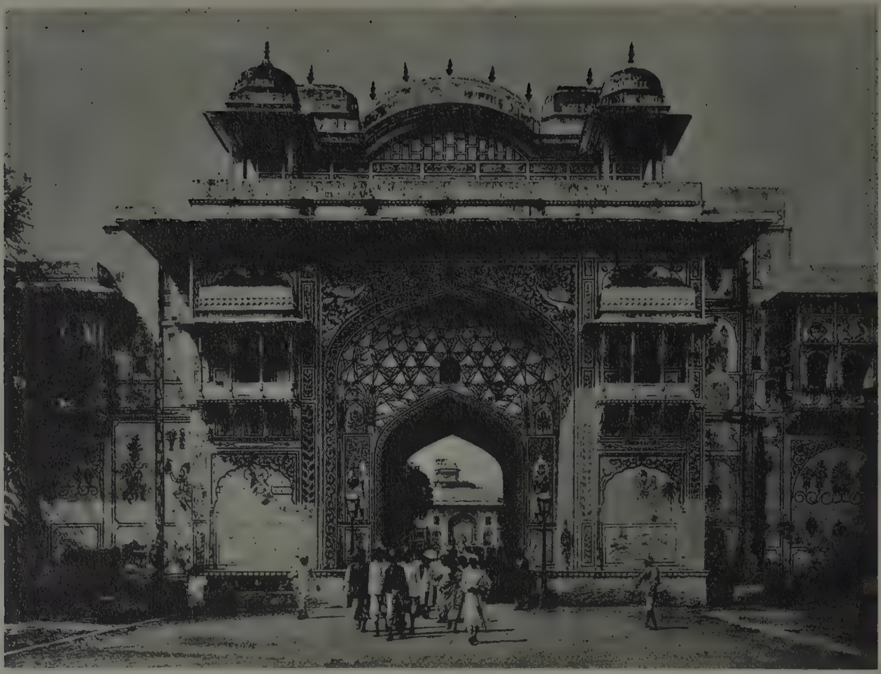


FIG. 18. JAIPUR, CITY GATE (AFTER REUTHER)

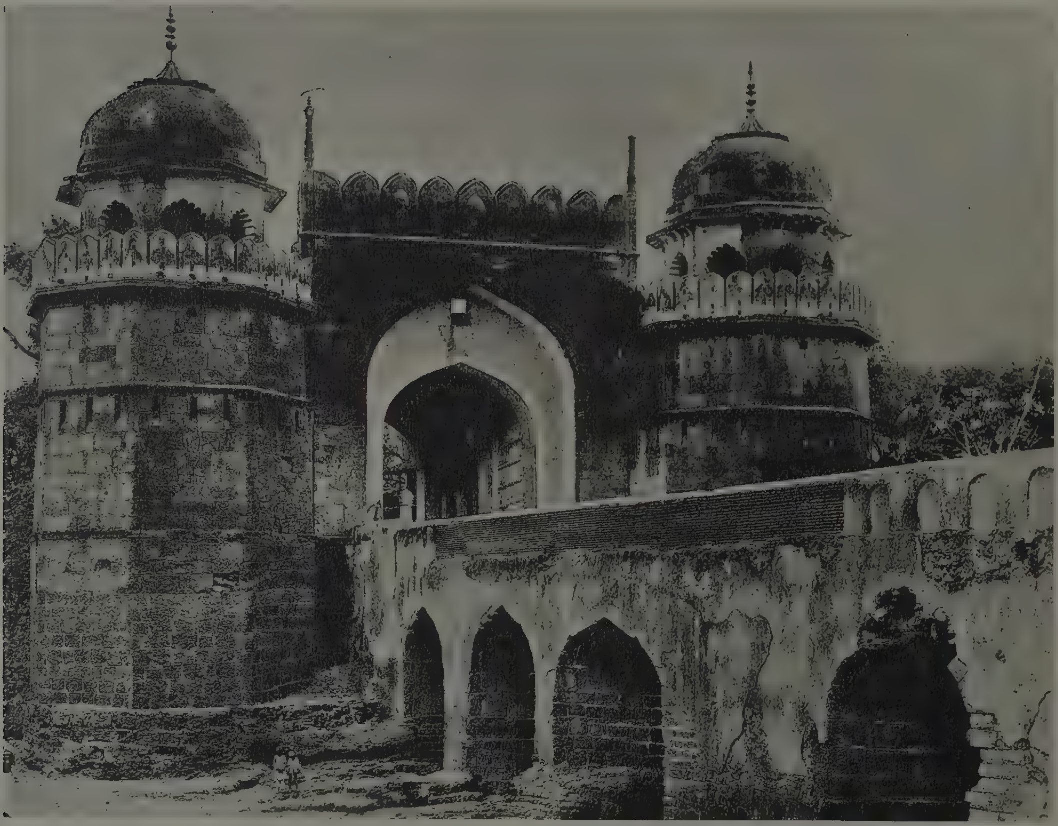


FIG. 19. BĪJĀPUR, FORTRESS GATE (AFTER REUTHER)

Later city and fortress gates.

PLATE CXXVI. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture*

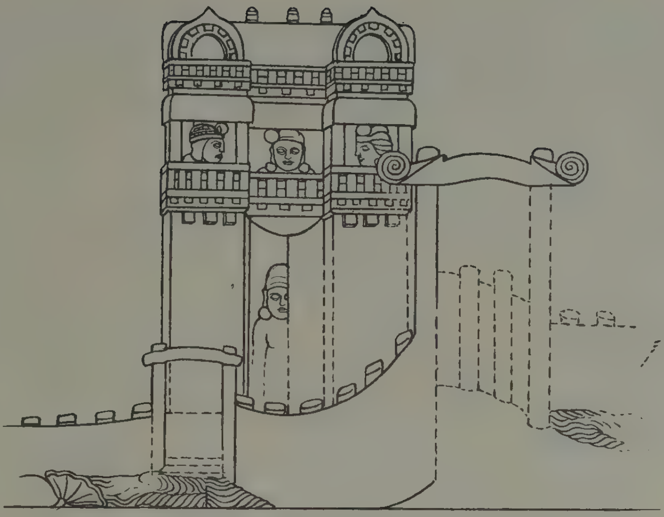


FIG. A. DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH OF A GATE-HOUSE, MOAT, AND BRIDGE (SEE FIG. 4)

The gate-leaves are framed at the sides by heavy jambs, usually called *esikā* (Mil. 332; J. II, 94/95 and VI, 276, glossed as *thambhas* set firmly in the ground) but the word *esikā* may include all the gateway pillars, that is the bolt post, jamb, and *toraṇa*-upright at each side (cf. Fig. 20). In J. VI, 276, *toraṇāni* is glossed *piṭṭha-saṁghāṭa* (the usual terms for jamb in the case of smaller doorways) but this must be regarded as a rather casual use of terms, not strictly correct: for the use of *toraṇāni* in the plural cf. Fig. 20. When closed, the gate-leaves are secured by one, or perhaps usually two (KA) heavy cross-bars (Pali *paligha*, Skt. *parigha*)[13] resting in slots in the bolt-posts immediately behind the jambs, for example *Buddhacarita*, V, 82, *guru-parigha-kapāṭa saṁvṛttā*, "the heavy bar and gate-leaves being closed." We also find mention of *aggalāni*, bolts, which are well known in connection with smaller doors; in J. VI, 276 and 483 the Commentator makes *aggalāni=dvāra-kavāṭāni*, but this again must be regarded as casual. In KA the fastenings of the *aṇidvāra* are called *hasti-parigha*. J. VI, 483 gives us *citraggala*, decorated bolt, and J. V, 169, *rajataggala*, silver bolt. When the gate is attacked by elephants, stress is laid on breaking down the *toraṇa* or *toraṇas*, breaking the *paligha*, and uprooting the *esikāni* (J. II, 94/95; DN. III; 14, 254).

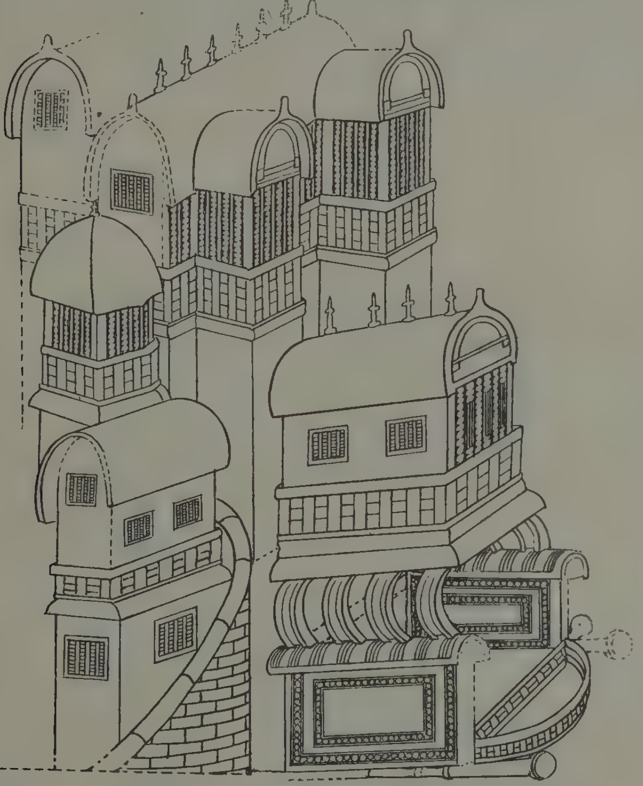


FIG. B. GATE-HOUSE, AND BUILDINGS WITHIN THE CITY-WALL. THE STRUCTURE IN FRONT TO RIGHT IS A MOVABLE VEHICLE, A KIND OF PALANKEEN. AMARĀVATĪ, MADRAS MUSEUM

Passing between the gate-posts (*esikāni*) under the arch (*toraṇa*) of the door, and between the two swinging door panels (*kavāṭa*) or when the great gates are closed, through the *cūḷa-* or *aṇidvāra* which opens through one of the large panels (J. VI, 391, 399, 401, and KA),[14] the traveller enters

---

[13] Pali *paligha* (=Skt. *parigha*) or *palikha* is always a cross-bar closing a gate, *parigha* (Skt. *paligha*) or *parikha* a moat. In J. II, 400, *parikhaṁ bhinditvā*, the sense requires *palikhaṁ*, and perhaps an emendation should be made.

[14] A smaller door cut in one of the large gate-leaves is a constant feature of mediæval gateways, and I have seen many examples. In J. VI, 406, the *cūḷa-dvāra* and *dvāra* (here=*kavāṭe*) of a city gate are contrasted; but *cūḷa-dvāra* is not exclusively a technical term for a door in a great gate, for in J. VI, 432, 460, *cūḷa* and *mahā-dvāras* are simply small and large doors of interior chambers. In the *Gobhila Gṛhya Śūtra*, IV, 7, 19–20 *aṇidvāra* is the back door of a house.

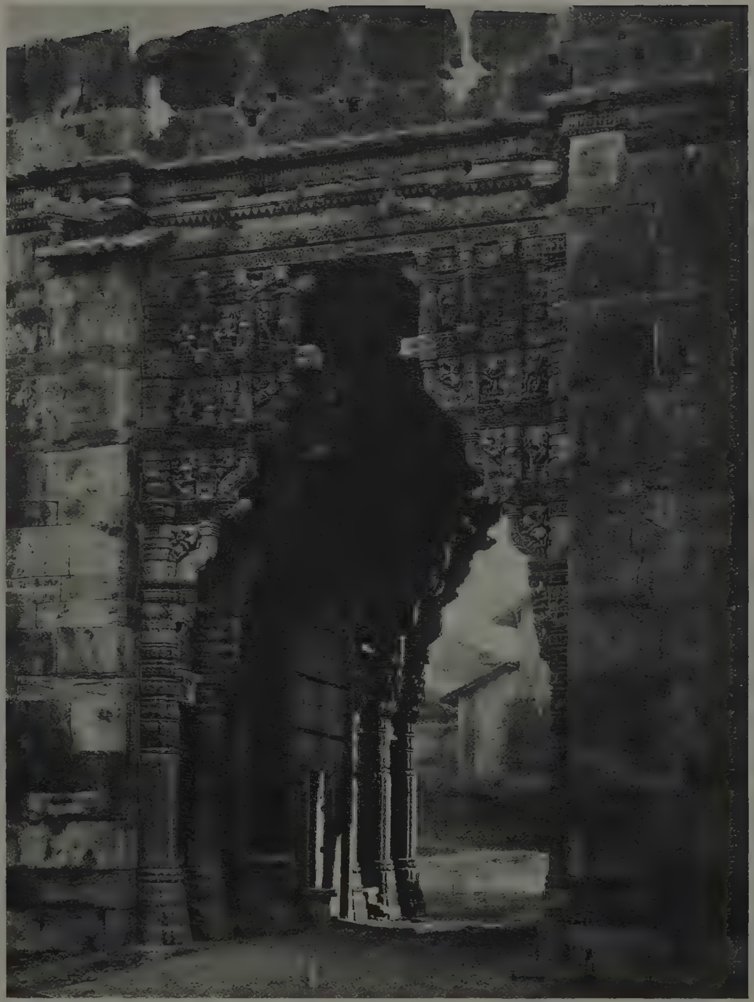


FIG. 20. CITY GATE DABHOI, GUJARĀT

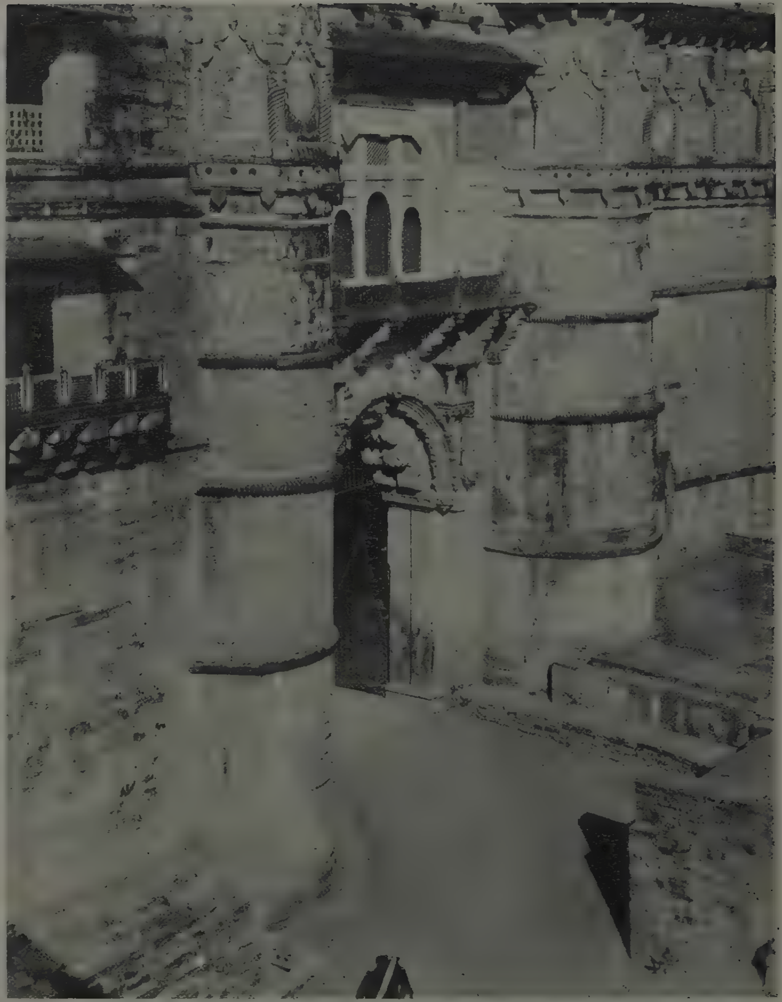


FIG. 21. FORTRESS GATE, GWĀLIAR

Later city and fortress gates.

Plate CXXVII. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* a large hall (*sālā*, KA, Ch. 21) roofed by the second storey (*ardha-tala*) of the actual gate-house. On either side of him are stone platforms (*pratimañcau*).

An integral part of the gate-house is the *toraṇa* (*varaparava gopura-toraṇa*, "splendid gate-arch," Mil. 1), or arch against which the gate-leaves close from within; the upper part of this arch being designated *toraṇa-sirahs* (KA) and the threshold *indakhīla*, Skt. *indrakīla* (see above). Such arches are easily recognizable in mediæval fortress gates, e.g. at Dabhoi, Fig. 20, and Gwālior, Fig. 21, but they cannot be made out at Sāñcī or Amarāvatī, where we can hardly ever see far enough into the *mukha* for the actual gateway to be visible. In one case, at Sāñcī (Figs. A and 4) there is evidently no such arch, but there is a kind of semi-circular door-stop at the top. At Bharhut, no representation of a city gate is preserved, but we have several illustrations of *dvāra-koṭṭhakas* of palace or temple enclosures (Cunningham, *Bharhut*, Pls. XVIII, XIX); these are of a simpler type, but large enough to admit an elephant and rider, and here a pointed arch of the kind elsewhere so familiar in the early art, is a conspicuous feature of the structure.

I cannot satisfactorily explain the "high *patthaṇḍilā*" with which a city *gopura* is provided, Mhv., LX, 3; the upper stories (cf. *tala* in KA) of the gate-house may be meant. Cf. Geiger, *Cuḷavaṁsa*, trans. 1, 214; and MN, II, 155.

Quite distinct from the *toraṇa* of the actual gateway are the freestanding *toraṇas* which are frequently represented as situated at the bridge-end remote from the city; through these arches one must pass when entering or leaving the city, but it is obvious that they served an ornamental and honorific purpose, and had no value for defense. In function they differ in no way from the *toraṇas* elsewhere represented, or extant as at Sāñcī, as set up at the entrance to any sacred or honorable area or enclosure; and no doubt because they are taken for granted in this sense, and because they have no defensive value, we do not find them referred to in the literature.

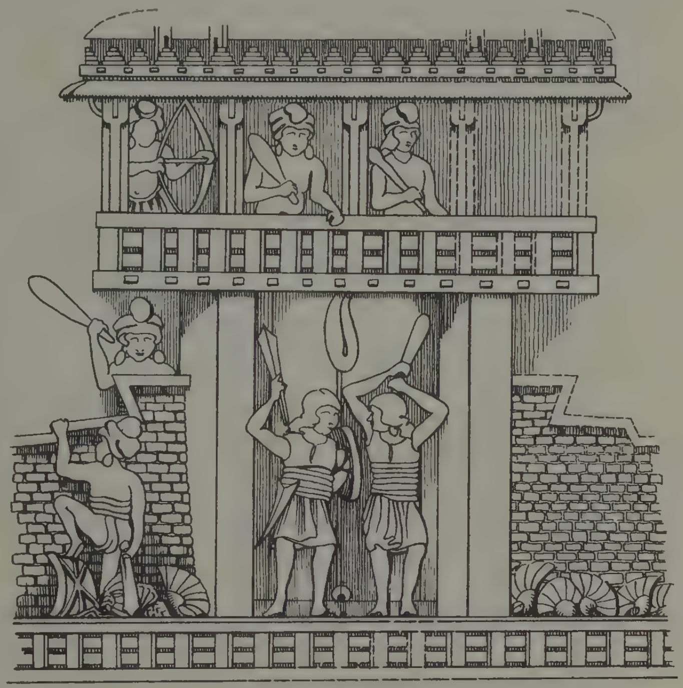


FIG. C. A SECOND TYPE OF CITY-GATE, REPRESENTED ONLY IN ONE RELIEF (SEE FIG. 6). SĀÑCĪ

KA describes the gate-house of a fort (*durga*), substantially identical with that of a fortified city (for *durga-nagara* cf. *Āghāṭa-durgge* in the colophon of a Jāina manuscript described on p. 237); the nomenclature has already been made use of above. The passage is full of difficulties; but as these can be, at least in part, resolved by comparison with the passages cited already, it will be desirable to offer here a new rendering of the greater part of it.

The text informs us that "the ground floor (*āditala*) has five divisions, a hall (*śālā*), well-room (*vāpī*), and boundary-house (*sīmāgṛha*), and two platforms (*mañcau*) opposite to each other and each a tenth part of the whole (area)." I take this to refer to the ground plan thought of as of the lower part of the main structure as seen from the city side, and represented in the accompanying diagram, Plate 1 (based on KA, the Pali texts, and the reliefs).

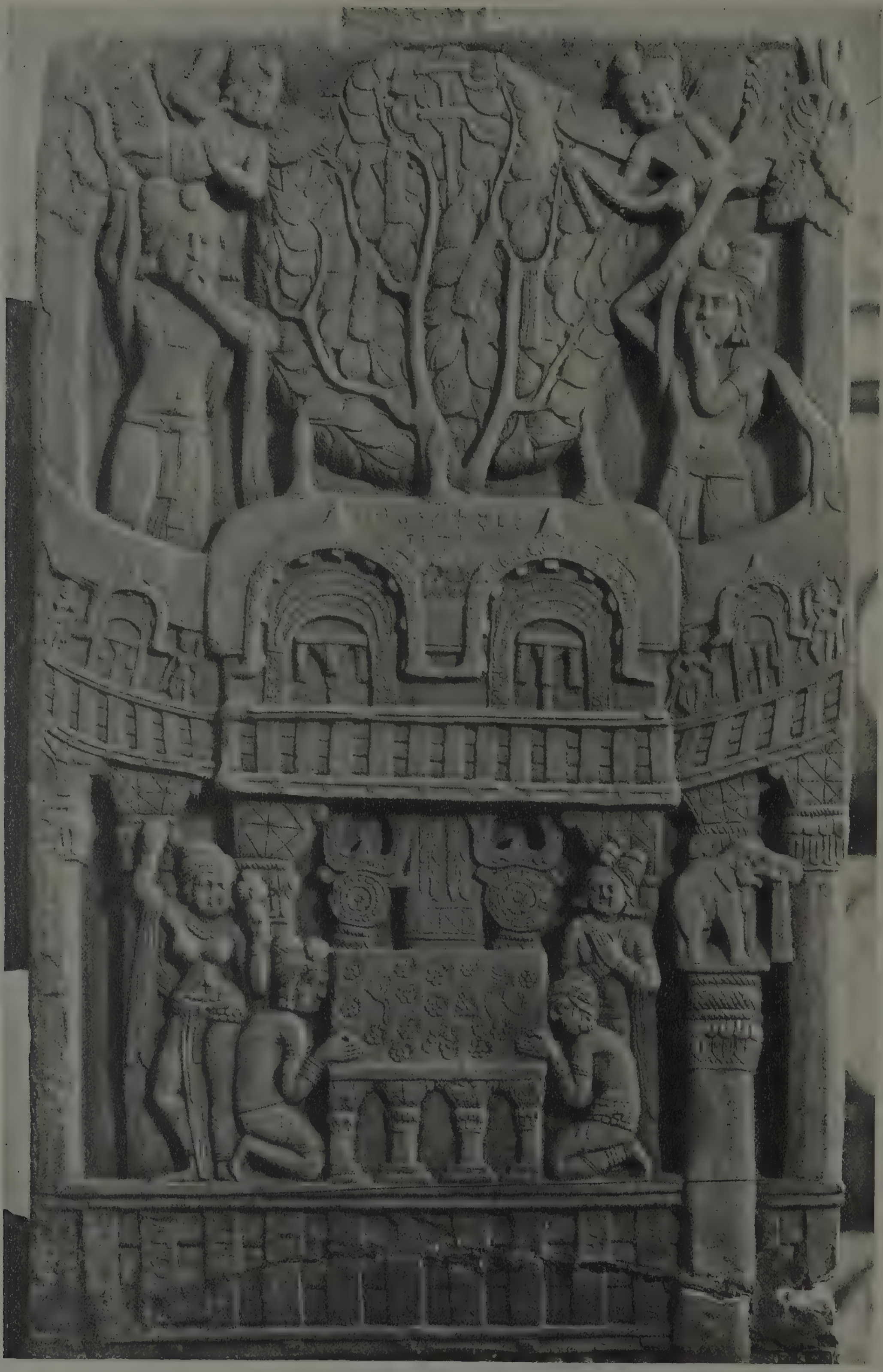


FIG. 22. BODHI-GHARA, BHARHUT

PLATE CXXVIII. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture*

Here the "hall" is the large passageway through the gate-house, i.e., the covered space, on the city side of the gate-leaves, appropriately called a hall because it is roofed by the superstructure. The "platforms" are clearly the open rooms with floors at some height above the road level, right and left of the hall; such platforms occur in all mediæval and later city gates, and are really the guard-rooms occupied by the soldiers (*dovārika*) on duty. Then the outermost room on one side is the well-room, that on the other, the "boundary-house," *sīmāgṛha*, explained by the Commentator as *koṣṭhagṛha*. Now in J. II, 378, we find the *doṇamāpaka*, the receiver of the king's dues paid in rice, seated at the door of the *koṭṭhāgāra*, superintending the measuring of the king's rice which has been brought into the city. Presumably, the granary door (*koṭṭhaka-dvāra*) is closed: anyhow, when it comes on to rain, the officer runs into the *dvāra-koṭṭhaka*, i. e., probably into the open *śālā*.[15] "Boundary-house" and "storehouse" are thus both designations of that part of the gate-house used for the temporary storage of taxes paid in kind; and possibly these should also be identified with the *sulka-śālā* or toll-house which, as we know, existed at the city gate for the collection of octroi on goods brought into the city for sale.

The text continues: "Then there is a pillared (*sthūṇāvabandha*) pavilion (*harmya*) forming an elevated mezzanine floor (*ardhatala*) i.e., the second floor)." This is quite clear and corresponds exactly with many of the reliefs, e.g., Fig. 8, though the number of upper storeys may actually be one, two (as in KA), or three (cf. Fig. 9).

"Then there is an uppermost house (*uttamāgāra*) covering half the area (*vāstu*), or (in other words about) three-quarters the width (of the roof of the second story); this house has brick walls."

Here, too, the description suits the representations; and, generally speaking, nothing is commoner than such a roof-apartment, occupying the greater part of the flat roof of a building, but having a verandah space separating its walls from the railed parapet of the roof. The word *uttamāgāra* aptly describes such a roof-apartment.

"In the left (tower) there is a stairway turning rightwise, and in the other (tower) a stairway with concealed (or concealing) walls (*guḍhābhitti*)."

"The head (*sira*) of the gateway arch (*toraṇa*) measures two cubits. The two gate-panels (*kavāṭa*) occupy three-fifths (of the total width of the passage); there are two cross-bars (*parigha*) and an *indrakīla* of an ell's measure." The *indrakīla* is glossed as *kavāṭadhāranārtha pradāna*, and plausibly explained by Meyer as a kind of door-stop against which the folding panels meet below when they are closed.

"The accessory door (*aṇidvāra*) is five cubits in width and has four elephant cross-bars (*hasti-parigha*)." The position of the *aṇidvāra* and the exact significance of *hasti-parigha* are not clear; but perhaps what is meant is the small door generally to be found in one of the door panels, for use when the panels themselves are closed. Such a small square door might very well be said to have four *parighas* if we suppose the fastening to have been of the type illustrated in MSA., Fig. 82 (*daṇḍu-agula*).

"And for access an 'elephant's claw' (*hasti-nakha*) supporting a bridge (*saṁkrama*) level with the entrance (*mukha*); or an earthen embankment when there is no water (available for a moat)." I have shown elsewhere (IAT, pp. 258/259) that *hasti-nakha* is primarily a pillar with an elephant capital, and so-called because only the nails of the elephant's feet are visible to the observer from below. From the text above it is evident that the bridge over a moat was supported by such a pillar, and so perhaps in a derivative sense came also to be designated as a *hasti-nakha*; certainly Amara's gloss on *hasti-nakha* in *Śiśupālavadha*, III, 68, viz. *pūrdvāri mṛtkūṭaḥ*, shows that the term had by his time come to denote the earthen embankment which formed a way down from the city gate to the open country beyond the ditch.

---

[15] For the use of the gate-hall in such a way, cf. J. VI, 514, where "the Bodhisattva did not enter the city, but sat down in the gate-hall (*nagara-dvāre nisīdi*):" and *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, III, 3, where a servant takes a nap in the *bahidvāra-sālā* (of the palace). For this typical use of gates in the East see Perrot et Chipiez, *La Perse*, II, pp. 69-72

Finally, we have: "The gate-house (*gopura*) is to be made (accordingly), continuous with the rampart (*prākārasamam*), and built over the entrance (*mukhamavasthāpya*), and three parts of it form the 'lizard's mouth' (*godhāmukha*)." The last term presumably refers to the entrance itself, elsewhere simply called *mukha;* probably this "mouth" was also called "the lizard's mouth," just as we might call the gateway of a fortress "the lion's jaws": or *mukha* may apply to both the front and rear portions of the entrance.

Finally, it may be remarked that mediæval and even modern Indian architectural forms are directly derived from and often preserve the most characteristic features of the ancient forms. Some acquaintance, indeed, with a mediæval Indian fortress gateway is essential to a proper understanding of the description given in KA and discussed above; if, for example, one has passed through the iron-studded doors of a city or fortress gate-house still in use, or if the latter are closed, through the accessory door cut through one of the *kavāṭa* and noticed the guards seated on stone platforms (*cābutra*) right and left of the passage through the great hallway, the sense of the words *aṇidvāra* and *pratimañcau* becomes immediately evident. Or, as in Fig. 21, we may note how closely the whole construction of a modern gate-house may correspond to that represented in the ancient reliefs. I have not attempted to discuss the relationship of Indian city fortifications with Babylonian types, though analogies are evident (cf. the Ishtar gate of Babylon, Koldewey, *Das Ištartor*, Wiss D. O. G., No. 19, 1918).

Other articles in the present series will deal with tree temples (No. II of the series, printed below); houses and palaces; hermits' huts and domed shrines and early towers; windows, arches, and doorways; and pillars.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ILLUSTRATIONS

Plate I. Plans of a *dvāra-koṭṭhaka*, compiled from data cited in the text and from the reliefs; not to scale.

Fig. 1. *Uttamāgāra*. Fig. 2. *Ardhatala*. Fig. 3. *Āditala*. E = *esikānī:* IK = *indrakīla:* K = *kavāṭa:* P = *pākāra*. Thick black lines represent brick walls; small squares, pillars. The two pillars at the outer end of the *saṁkrama* are the *stambhas* of the free-standing *toraṇa* at the bridge end. The *stambhas* of the gateway *toraṇa* are included with the *esikānī*.

Plate. II. Three reliefs from Sāñcī:

Fig. 4. Kapilavatthu (The Great Renunciation, see Marshall, *Guide to Sanci*, p. 60). One of the *kavāṭa* is shown half open, and behind it stands a *dovārika* (or deity acting as such), half seen. The bridge is provided with a palisade parapet like the city wall. The *toraṇa* at the bridge end is clearly shown. Buildings within the city are seen above (beyond) the city wall, on the left. By a side door women have access to the moat and are fetching water. Sāñcī, east *toraṇa*. See also Fig. A.

Fig. 5. Jettutara (*Vessantara Jātaka*, see Marshall, *Guide*, p. 53). A woman is standing in the *mukha* of the gateway, between the two *aṭṭālakas*; another carrying a *bhiṁkāra* (*Jāt*. VI, 345) stands on what would be the bridge, if bridge and moat had been shown. Buildings within the city are seen above the city wall on the right, and above (beyond) the gate-house. Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*.

Fig. 6. Kusināra (War of the Relics, see Marshall, *Guide*, p. 49). Gate-house of usual type on the left, an armed soldier standing in the *mukha* between the *aṭṭālaka*. City

wall and moat, with attacking soldiers in centre. On the right a second gate of another type (see drawing, Fig. C). Within the city wall on the left, an *antarattāla*. Other buildings in the city are seen above the wall between the two gates. Sāñcī, south *toraṇa*. Cf. *Jātaka*, VI, 400 "When they were in the moat, attempting to destroy the wall, the men in the towers (*antaraṭṭālesu*) dealt havoc with arrows, javelins, spears, and so forth."

Plate. III. Mathurā and Sāñcī:

Fig. 7. (Kusinārā, War of the Relics ?), walled city with gate-house to right; the *kavāṭa* are indicated. Outside the city wall is an apsidal shrine (the only example anywhere illustrated in an old relief). Mathurā, perhaps first century A.D., I 38 in the Mathurā Museum, *Catalogue* p. 140.

Fig. 8. Kusinārā (War of the Relics, Marshall, *Guide*, p. 69). Army of the Mallas entering the city by the gate-house. Accessory defence tower (*antaraṭṭāla*) on the right. Immediately left of the gate-house, within the city, is a minor gateway of a common type. Sāñcī, west *toraṇa*.

Fig. 9. Jettutara (*Vessantara Jātaka*, Marshall, *Guide*, p. 54). Women with water jars are emerging from the *mukha* of the gate-house. Buildings within the city above (beyond) the wall and gate-house. Accessory defence tower within wall to right of gate-house (next to horse's head). The gate-house has two *harmya* storeys in place of the usual one, making four floors in all. Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*.

Fig. 10. Sāvatthi (?) (see Marshall, *Guide*, p. 59). A horseman is issuing from the *mukha*. Buildings are seen within the city above (beyond) the gate-house, on the left and city wall on the right. Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*.

Fig. 11. Rājagaha (see Marshall, *Guide*, p. 65). A chariot is emerging from the *mukha* of the gate-house. The city wall is seen as usual, to left of the gate-house (above the horses), but then turns abruptly upwards so that only the coping is visible, seen from above—an interesting and unusual consequence of the vertical projection. A building within the city is seen just above (beyond) the gate-house; and a small accessory defence tower just within the wall to the left of the gate-house. Sāñcī, east *toraṇa*.

Plate. IV. Sāñcī and Amarāvatī:

Fig. 12. Rājagaha ? (see Marshall, *Guide*, p. 60). King in chariot issuing from the *mukha* of a city gate; city wall to left. City or palace buildings within. Sāñcī, north *toraṇa*.

Fig. 13. *Chaddanta Jātaka*. Men passing in and out of a city or palace gate-house, king seated in palace within. Part of city or palace wall seen below. Amarāvatī.

Fig. 14. Cortege issuing from a city or palace gate, king seated in palace within to left. No part of the wall is seen, but the free-standing *toraṇa* in front of the gate at the bridge end is seen (or possibly this *toraṇa* belongs to a sacred enclosure to right, which the king on horseback is about to visit). Amarāvatī.

Fig. 15. Kusinārā. Partition of the Buddha's relics. A Malla chieftain with a reliquary, on an elephant, emerging from the *mukha* of the gate-house of the city. Within the city, right, above, the division of the relics, below, dancers in honour of the relics. In the foreground an accessory defence tower, not as usual within, but forming a part of the wall, of which a small part is seen extending downwards to the right. Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

Fig. 16. King on elephant issuing from the *mukha* of a city gate; the umbrella-bearer has just passed under the free-standing *toraṇa* at the bridge end. A small part of the wall is shown immediately below and to right of the horse. Amarāvatī.

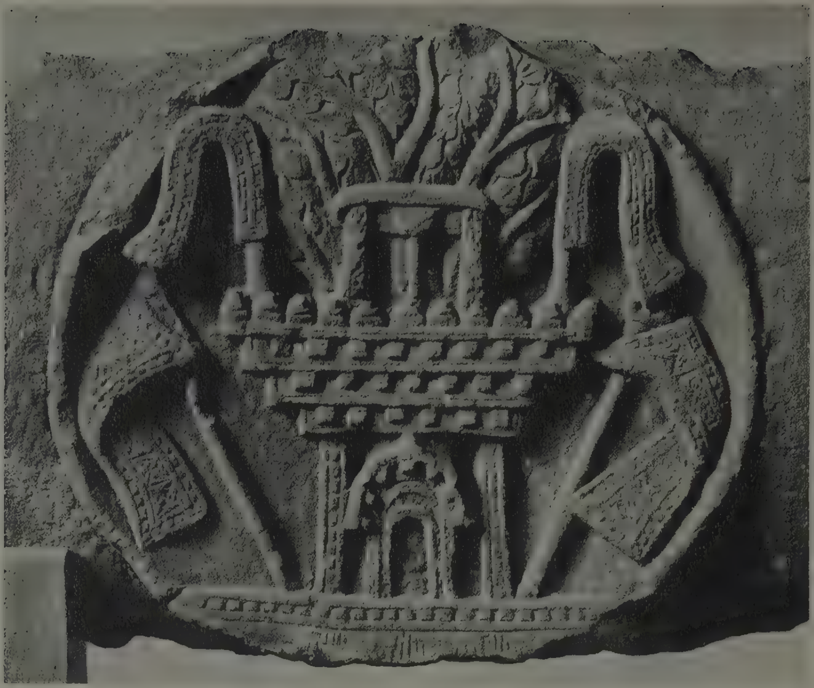


FIG. 23. MATHURĀ

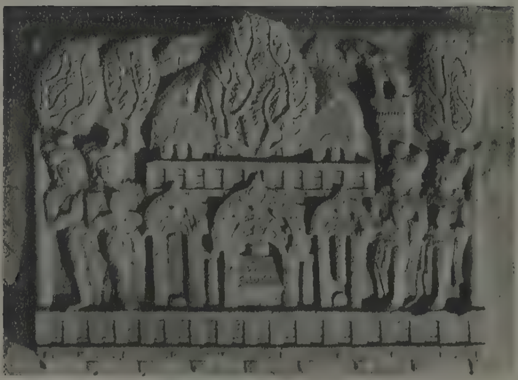


FIG. 24. BHARHUT

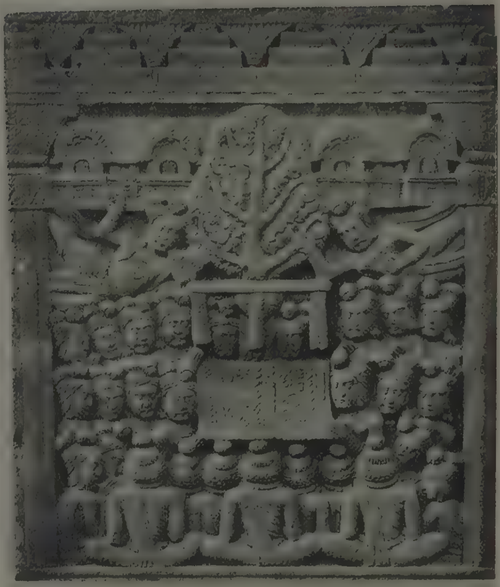


FIG. 25. BHARHUT

Bodhi-gharas, Mathurā and Bharhut

PLATE CXXIX. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture*

Fig. 17. Story not identified: a woman thrown over a city wall, king seated in palace above. To the right is one tower of a gate-house, the rampart extending downwards from it to the lower margin. The second tower, to right, is not preserved. Amarāvatī, Madras Museum.

Plate V. Mediæval and modern city and fortress gate-houses:

Fig. 18. Jaipur, city gate. Note the three storeys, the middle one of *harmya* type, the upper a railed roof-apartment exactly corresponding to the *uttamāgāra* of the old gate-houses.

Fig. 19. Bījāpur: bridge, gateway, and two flanking towers. Both figures after Reuther, *Indische Paläste und Wohnhauser*.

Plate VI. Mediæval and modern city and fortress gate-houses.

Fig. 20. Gateway in city wall, Dabhoi. One open gate-leaf (*kavāṭa*) is seen to left in the middle of the *śālā*, between the two double *toraṇas:* at the base of the *kavāṭa* is seen the accessory door (*aṇidvāra*, *cūḷadvāra*) for the use of pedestrians when the *kavāṭa* are closed.

Fig. 21. Gwāliar, Hāthī Paur of Mān Siṅgh's palace, ca. 1500 A.D.; showing the two side towers, and the *toraṇa* of the gate-proper (the gate being open, one leaf is seen).

II. Bodhi-gharas

In a numerous series of representations of the Bodhi tree, from Bharhut, Mathurā, and Amarāvatī, and all dateable within the four centuries ca. 175 B.C. to 225 A.D., the tree with its accessories (*vajrāsana* and a symbol) is represented as surrounded by a two- or occasionally three-storeyed hypaethral temple. Such temples of the or any Bodhi-tree are referred to in the literature as *Bodhi-gharas* (*Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXVI, 31[16] and XXXVII, 15 and 31). Strictly speaking any Bodhi-tree, with or without a temple structure, is also a *rukkha-cetiya* or *caitya-vṛkṣa*, or tree-shrine; but these terms in the Buddhist literature seem to be reserved wholly or mainly for tree-shrines not specifically Buddhist.

More or less detailed references to the manner in which a Bodhi-tree was worshipped, and to Bodhi-gharas are found in various places. In the *Aśokāvadāna*, Aśoka, having vowed to pour upon the Bodhi-tree at Bodhgayā perfumed water from four thousand precious vessels "let make an enclosure surrounding the Bodhi-tree on all four sides, and mounting upon it," fulfilled his vow.[17] It is impossible to say certainly whether by "enclosure" a permanent Bodhi-ghara is to be understood; from the Chinese words employed we can only deduce that the structure was rather of the scaffolding type, made of wood and not of stone (it is obvious that all but one of the Bodhi-gharas here discussed and illustrated were actually wooden structures).

The Sanskrit form *caturdiśaṁ vāraṁ baddhvā svāyam eva ca vāram abhiruhya caturbhiḥ kumbhasahasrair bodhisnapanaṁ kṛtavān*, corresponding exactly to the rendering from the Chinese already given, occurs in the *Divyāvadāna*, p. 404. The editors, following Burnouf, render *vāraṁ* as "platform;" but "enclosure" would be preferable. Przyluski's suggestion of "bassin" to hold the water poured at the foot of the tree is untenable, since Aśoka mounted upon it: the enclosure must have been a sort of

---

[16] Here *Mahābodhighare pācīne* should be rendered "on the east side of the Great Temple of the Bodhi-tree," not as by Geiger, "in the eastern temple of the Great Bodhi-tree."

[17] Przyluski, J., *La légende de l'Empereur Açoka*, 1923, pp. 267, 433.

[18] In the *Divyāvadāna* version *baddhvā*, "tied" seems at first sight to support the idea of a temporary scaffolding: but it should be remembered that this constructional method was employed even in the case of permanent wooden buildings (see IAT, p. 265, *s. v. nārāca*, and also the *Rāmāyaṇa* passage cited by Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 100).

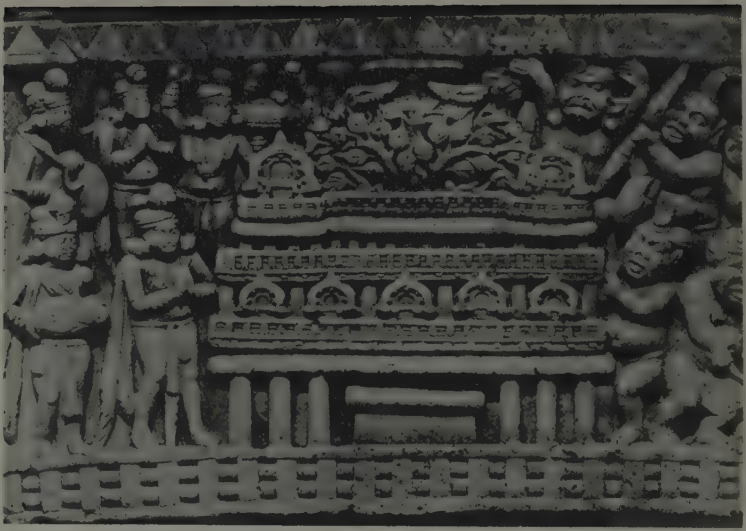


FIG. 26. VISIT OF AŚOKA AND ASSAULT OF MĀRA

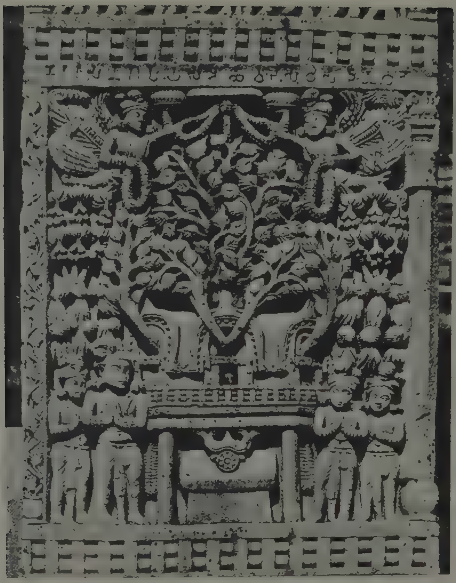


FIG. 27. VISIT OF DEITIES

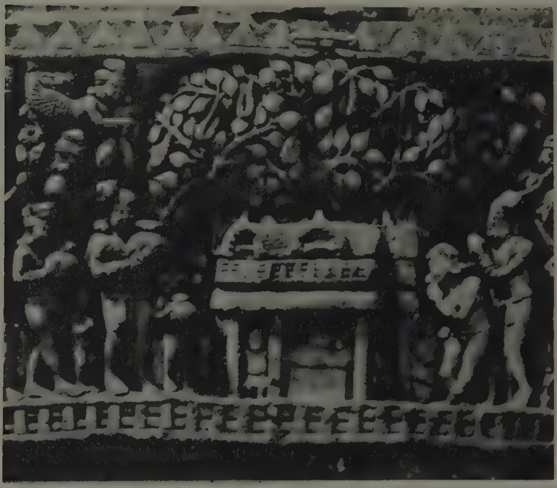


FIG. 28. VISIT OF AŚOKA

Bodhi-gharas, Sāñcī

PLATE CXXX. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* gallery, and may have been a finished Bodhi-ghara.[18] All the Bodhi-gharas represented in the reliefs are in the same way essentially enclosing galleries, large and strong enough to bear the weight of several persons. As in the case of temples generally, so in our case of the tree-temples, it may be safely assumed that there existed a close relation between form and function—the structure was not merely honorific, but was adapted to requirements determined by the nature of the usual offices; for the actual lustration of a tree, only a high surrounding gallery could have served.

Whether or not the "enclosure" of the *Aśokāvadāna* was a permanent Bodhi-ghara there can be little doubt that in the second century B.C. the Bodhi-tree was already surrounded by a structural Bodhi-ghara, since it is so shown in reliefs at Bharhut and Sāñcī (Figures 22, 36, etc.); these reliefs are supposed to represent the Bodhi-ghara built by Aśoka, as indeed may actually have been the case. It may be this original Bodhi-ghara which is referred to in a Bodhgayā pillar inscription as the *rājapāsāda cetikā*;[19] and that it only ceased to exist in its original form (very likely restored or rebuilt as occasion required) when it was replaced, perhaps in the time of Huviṣka, anyhow not later than in the Gupta period, by the present "Great Gandhakuṭi of the Vajrāsana.[20]" When this temple of the *vajrāsana* was built as a structure not open to the sky, the Bodhi-tree had of course to be moved, and there could have been no fundamental objection to this, since it is the position of the *vajrāsana*, rather than that of the tree, that is of cosmic significance. This new temple was built just after the time when the Buddha image had began to take its place as the principal cult object; the cult of the tree, though it has never been discontinued, thus lost its primary importance, and it is probably for this reason that the building of elaborate Bodhi-gharas seems to have ceased soon after the close of the second century, there being no representations of hypaethral temples subsequent to the late Āndhra reliefs.

The bestowing of royal consecration on a Bodhi-tree is several times mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, thus XVIII, 36, "Aśoka consecrated the Great Bodhi-tree as king of his realm." That this kind of consecration has been bestowed is perhaps to be understood whenever, as in Figures 22, 23, 26, etc. we see the tree surmounted by or provided with a *chatta* or royal umbrella.

In *Jātaka* No. 479 (*Jātaka*, IV, 229–236) the honouring of another Bodhi-tree, that planted by Ānanda at the Jetavana monastery in the Buddha's own life-time, is described in greater detail, and the ceremonies are called collectively a *Bodhi-maha*, or Festival of a Bodhi-tree. The king offers to this tree "eight hundred jars of scented water furnished with water-lilies, and a long row of full-vessels," worships the tree with music, wreaths, and cartloads of flowers, has an altar (*vajrāsana*) and a railing (*vedikā*) made of the seven precious substances, spreads golden sand in the courtyard (*aṅgana*) about the tree, and builds about the whole Wisdom-area (*Bodhi-maṇḍa*) an outer enclosing wall (*pākāra*) with a gate-house (*dvāra-koṭṭhaka*) again of the seven precious substances. Nothing is said about a Bodhi-ghara in this case.

The smoothing and sanding of the *aṅgana* or courtyard about a Bodhi-tree are also mentioned in *Mahāvaṁsa*, XXXV, 89 and XXXVI, 103; in the last place, the *vajrāsana* is spoken of as a *vedi*. In the *Mahāvaṁsa*, XLIX, 74, Aggabodhi IX has the "ruined temple (*ghara*) of the Prince of Trees newly and durably built and gilded."

A total number of eleven Bodhi-gharas is represented in the early reliefs—three at Bharhut, two at Mathurā, four at Sāñci, and two at Amarāvatī;[21] all these are reproduced on the accompanying plates. It may be that all these representations designate the original Bodhi-tree at Bodhgayā (Uruvelā of the early texts); and this may be taken for granted in most cases, though the point has little importance for present

---

[19] Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, Pl. X, inscription No. 10: Bloch, *Notes on Bōdh Gayā*, A. S. I., A. R., 1908–09, p. 147. The inscription is one of those of Kuraṁgī, queen of Indrāgnimitra, and dateable about 100 B.C.

[20] Bloch, *Notes on Bōdh Gayā*, A. S. I., A. R., 1908–09, p. 153.

[21] Those from Bharhut are now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta; one from Mathurā is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the other in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā; those at Sāñci are *in situ*; those from Amarāvati are in the Government Museum, Madras.

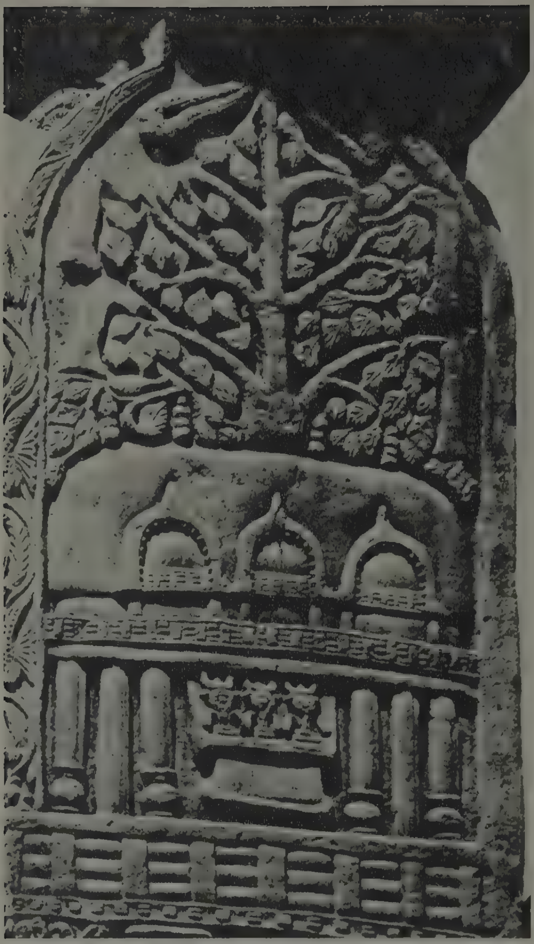


FIG. 29. SĀÑCĪ

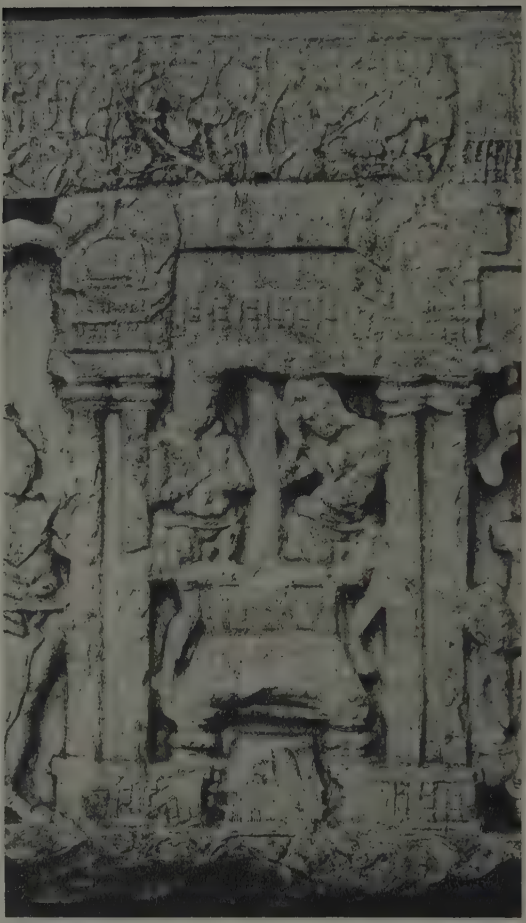


FIG. 30. AMARĀVATĪ

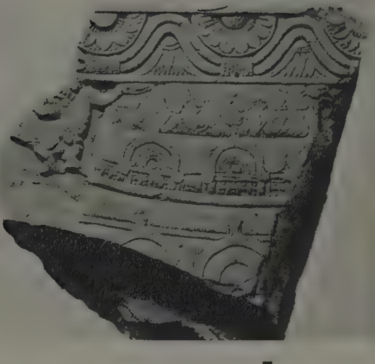


FIG. 31. MATHURĀ

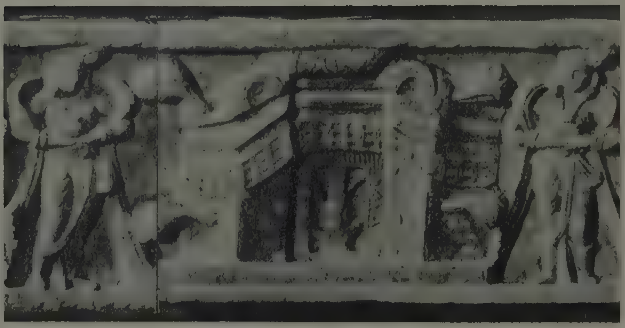


FIG. 32. AMARĀVATĪ

Bodhi-gharas, Sāñcī, Mathurā, and Amarāvati

PLATE CXXXI. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* purposes. It is not to be doubted that some of the countless memorial Bodhi-trees planted as cult objects elsewhere, like the one in Ceylon of which we have precise information in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, were provided with Bodhi-gharas; indeed, it is very probable that the whole cult and temple type of Buddhist "tree-worship" were taken over from the pre-existing and co-existing animistic practise. Even according to the Buddhist texts, the Bodhi-tree at Uruvelā was already, before the coming of the Bodhisattva, a sacred tree, the haunt of a Devatā, no doubt a Yakṣa, to whom offerings were made and from whom marriage and fertility boons might be expected. It is impossible that Buddhists should have themselves invented the details of a tree cult, which, whatever interpretation they put upon it, can easily be shown to have existed from a remote antiquity. If they were certainly not the first, for example, to hang wreaths and garlands on sacred trees, it is very possible that they were not the first to build tree-temples. Texts (cited in my *Yakṣas*, pp. 17 ff.) show that at least in many significant details, e.g. the use of umbrellas, the offering of flowers and scents, the spreading of sand, the building of enclosing walls, the honours paid to sacred trees haunted by Devatās were the same as those offered to Bodhi-trees. Moreover, the great variety of form of the Bodhi-gharas as seen in the reliefs, and the elaborate construction of even the earliest examples (Figure 22) are further proof of the antiquity of the type. The architectural style is further, in all cases, a purely Indian one, identical with that of contemporary secular building.

As already remarked, the main essentials of the special form common to all examples are determined by the nature of the case; the Bodhi-ghara is always a gallery surrounding the tree and *vajrāsana*, and necessarily open to the sky. Apparently the simplest form is represented by a cross-bar medallion relief from the Mathurā District, now in Boston (Figure 23). Here there are four outer corner pillars, and four inner pillars may be assumed, the ground plan being square. The eight pillars sloping slightly inwards, support a heavy timbered superstructure corbelled outwards, to form a flat gallery or promenade above, much wider than the basement itself; the flat surface of this aerial *padakkhiṇa* path supports no further construction: only an umbrella and banners are planted upon it. The whole structure seems to be built of a size only just sufficient to enclose the tree itself, and this seems to be confirmed by the fact that the *vajrāsana*, which has upon it three five-finger marks (*pañcaṅgulika*),[22] is seen outside and not within the structure. There is however an arched porch of the usual type, and some kind of symbol, perhaps a *ratna-traya*, is seen within; the faint suggestion of a seated Buddha figure is of course deceptive. The corbelled superstructure with its battlemented parapet belongs to an architectural type very characteristic at Bharhut (cf. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, Pl. XXXI, 1) Bhājā (*hammiyas* of the monolithic stupas), and Sāñcī, and this fact, together with the inward slope of the pillars, suggests a date not later than the end of the second century B.C.

Of the Bharhut examples, dateable about 175 B.C., the most remarkable is that of the Prasenajit pillar, here Figure 22, with its inscription *Bhagavato Sakamunino Bodho*, "The Illumination of the Blessed Śākya-muni."

Bloch[23] supposed that this structure was supported on thirty-two pillars; Cunningham reckoned sixteen only, and drew accordingly a plan (*Mahābodhi*, Pl. II) incorporating the positions of a few pillar bases discovered in the foundations of the present Great Gandhakuṭi.

In my plan, Figure 37, the number of pillars is also taken as sixteen. The plan, on the left, is a ground plan, and shows eight of the pillars; on the right, it is a plan of the

---

[22] That *pañcaṅgulika means* "hand impression" and not "palmette" as suggested in IAT., p. 267, is proved by the following passages additional to those cited in IAT.: Cull V, 18; DhA. III, 374; J. I, 166 and 193, and VI, 42; Bhāsa, *Pratimānāṭaka*, III, 11 and 38; Bana, *Harṣacarita*, 63, 13 and 157, 1. The subject is fully treated by Vogel, *The sign of the Spread Hand or "Five-finger Token" (pañcaṅgulika) in Pali literature*, K. akad. van Wetenschapen, afd. *Letterkunde*, 5^e Reeks, Deel IV, Amsterdam, 1919.

[23] Bloch, Th., *Notes on Bodh-gayā*, A. S. I., A. R., 1908–09. This author quite needlessly supposes that the pillars must have been of stone.

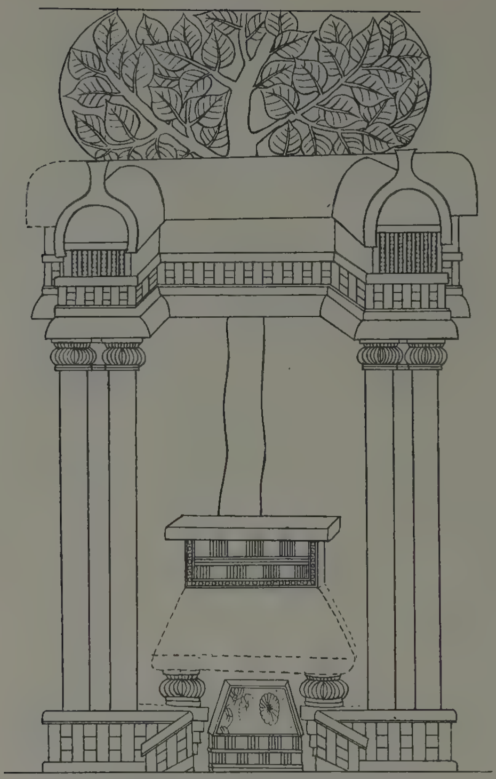


FIG. 33. DIAGRAM FROM FIG. 30

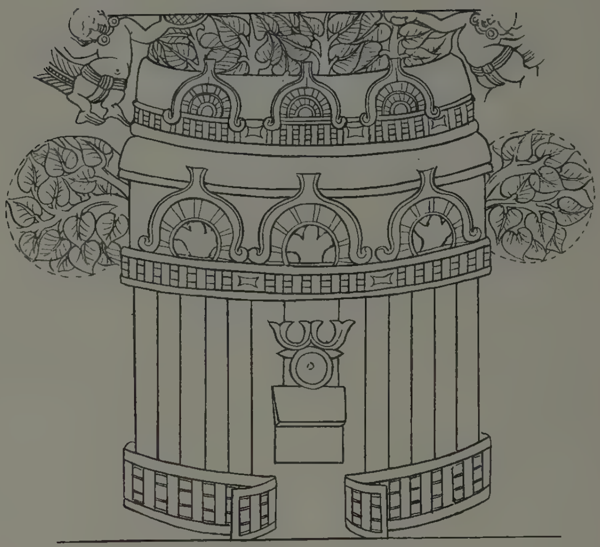


FIG. 34. RESTORATION OF FIG. 32

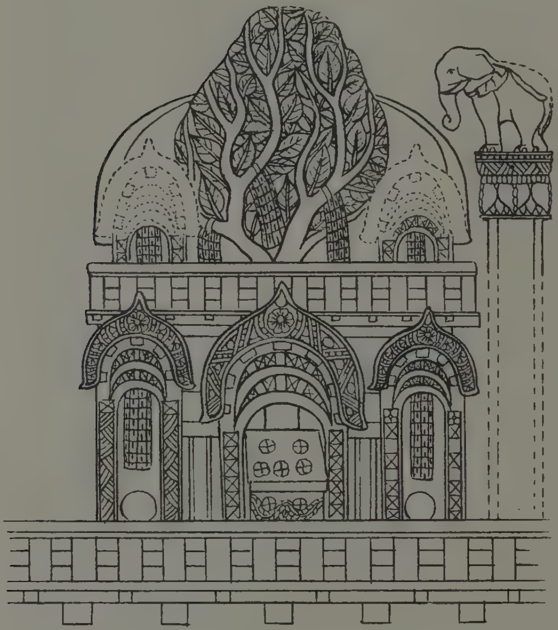


FIG. 35. DIAGRAM FROM FIG. 24

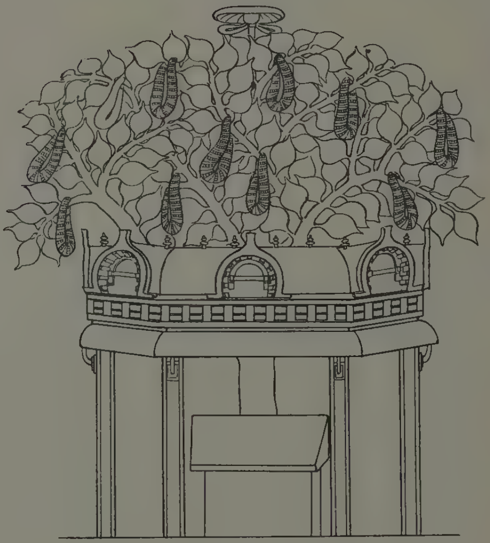


FIG. 36. DIAGRAM FROM FIG. 28

Bodhi-gharas, drawn and restored from the reliefs

Plate CXXXII. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture* second storey, where we find upon a very familiar type of roof chamber or bungalow provided with numerous arched "French windows" (*mahā-vātapāna*) and a domed roof with finials. Within each window arch is seen a *chatta*. Female worshippers are seen on the balcony, between the walls of the roof chamber and the railed parapet (*vedikā*) of the gallery. Within, below, are seen the decorated trunk of the Bodhi-tree, flanked by two *ratna-traya* symbols on short pillars, and with the *vajrāsana*, supported on short columns, in front of it; the *vajrāsana* is covered with flowers, and there are four lay worshippers. It is assumed that here, as in all other cases, the *vajrāsana* is actually the central element of the plan; since it is the *vajrāsana* and not the tree which occupies the exact centre of the *Bodhi-maṇḍa* or Wisdom-area. Above, the head of the tree, decorated with wreaths and two *chattas*, rises within the circular gallery; it is worshipped, probably by two deities, and a pair of *supaṇṇas* flying towards it. Of these last, the one on the right bears a garland, the one on the left a leaf basket (*paṇṇa-pacchi* or *puṭa*) full of flowers, which he is casting one by one towards the tree. Below, on the right, external to the Bodhi-ghara, is a *dhaja-thabbha* surmounted by an elephant holding a garland.

This standard example establishes the general type found elsewhere, though the plans and details vary. Another Bodhi-ghara at Bharhut, Figures 24 and 35, has evidently an apsidal plan (Figure 39), like that of the usual rock-cut *cetiva-gharas:* as before, the gallery supports a long roof chamber, but this terminates in *mahā-vātapānas* at each side, and does not continue across the front of the gallery.

As in the *cetiya-gharas* there are three entrances or porches, one central, and one corresponding to each aisle. Outside there is again a *dhaja-thabbha* surmounted by an elephant.

In one other Bharhut relief, Figure 25, we have a unique case of a Bodhi-ghara seen from within; it is a square in plan, and what we see is only one of the four sides of the gallery and roof chamber with its windows, each with a projecting balcony; the courtyard (*aṅgana*) surrounding the tree and *vajrāsana*, and overlooked by the gallery, is filled with seated worshippers.[24] The central object in each of these "French windows" is a hanging garland, as also in the case of the two lateral porches.

Of the Sāñcī examples, one (Figure 28, drawn more clearly in Figure 36, and in ground and gallery plan, Figure 38) from the east *toraṇa*, lower architrave, front, forms the centre of a composition representing the visit of Aśoka, as alluded to above in a citation from the *Aśokāvadāna*. Aśoka himself is seen on the right, descending from his elephant, and followed by a queen. The structure, a little difficult to make out because of a fracture in the stone on the right side, is octagonal and supports a continuous roof chamber of the same plan and usual type. A heavy roll moulding or eaves runs round the whole structure immediately above the tops of the supporting pillars and below the gallery floor; the outer edge of these eaves is supported by brackets which spring from the pillars.

Another Sāñcī example, second panel on the left pillar, front face, of the same *toraṇa*, here Figure 27, is a type practically identical with the last, but rather more clearly represented and better preserved. Branches of the tree emerge from the outer windows of the roof chamber, and must be understood as passing also through the inner windows which are not visible.[25]

---

[24] Where, as in this case, the plan is square or rectangular, we have a building type exactly corresponding to that of an ordinary palace, for the term *mahāvātapana* cf. *Jātaka*, II, 21, where we have a reference to the great windows ("French windows," as I have called them here) overlooking the palace court (*rājaṅgana*).

Gavākṣa is used synonymously; so too is *sīhara-pañjara*, but here the projecting dormer as well as the actual dormer window is implied.

Architecturally and functionally these early balcony windows correspond to the modern *jharokhā*. In the *Hindī Śabda Sāgara*, *gavākṣa* is given in explanation of *jharokhā*.

Windows will be discussed more fully in a later article.

[25] Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 65, associates with this panel the one above it, in which are seen two groups of persons separated by a horizontal band. In my opinion these are not deities looking on at the Illumination represented below. More probably (as suggested in Sir John Marshall's footnote) the upper panel represents the Great Miracle at Śrāvastī, and in this case the horizontal band must be the Buddha's *cankama*.

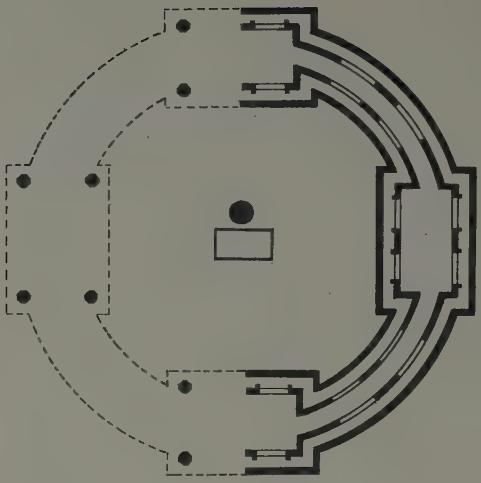


FIG. 37. PLAN OF FIG. 22

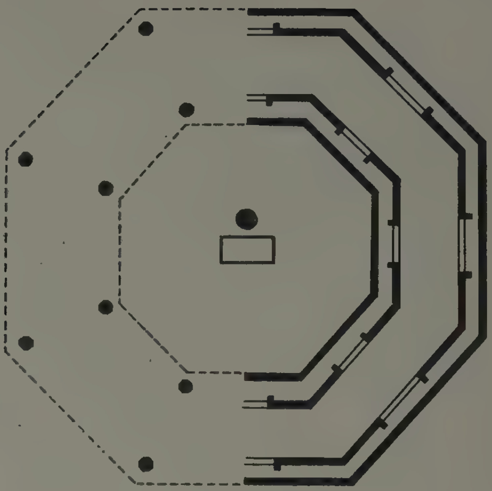


FIG. 38. PLAN OF FIGS. 28, 36

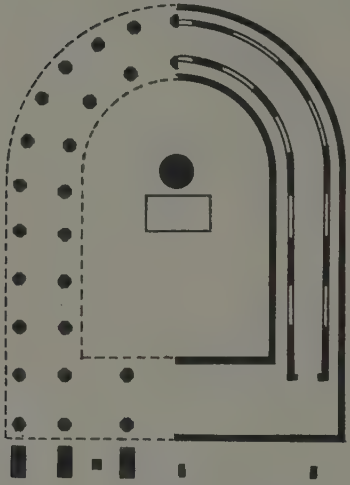


FIG. 39. PLAN OF FIGS. 24, 35

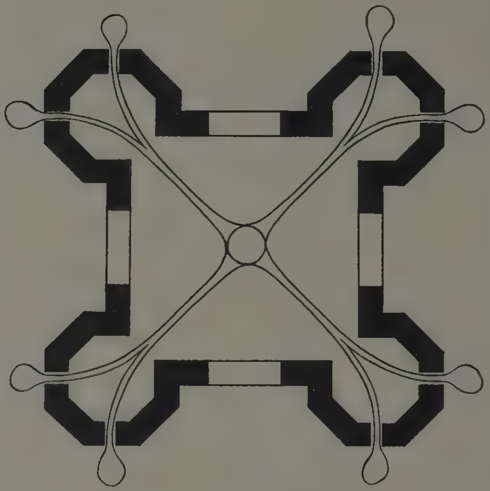


FIG. 40. PLAN OF FIG. 31

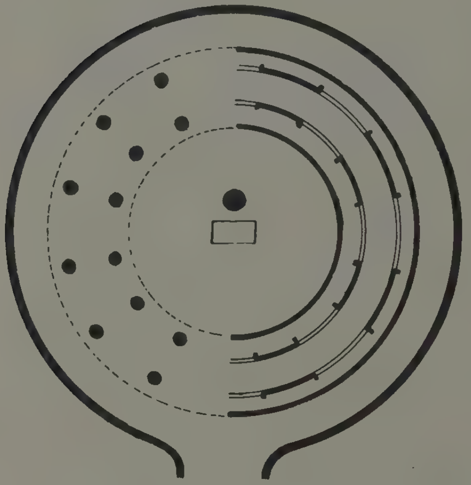


FIG. 41. PLAN OF FIG. 34

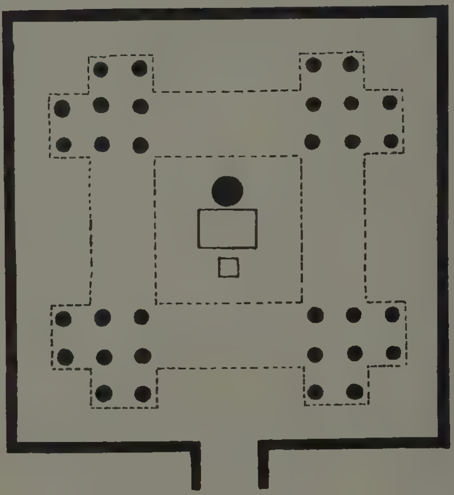


FIG. 42. PLAN OF FIGS. 30, 33

Bodhi-ghara plans

Plate CXXXIII. *Coomaraswamy: Early Indian Architecture*

A third Sāñcī Bodhi-ghara, on the south *toraṇa*, left pillar, inner face, upper panel, here Figure 29, is an imposing circular structure, the gallery chamber having twelve windows, arranged in groups of three. The figures in the panel immediately below this may be those of Aśoka, two queens, and attendants.

The last Sāñcī example, from the west *toraṇa*, lower architrave, back, here Figure 26, is the most elaborate type anywhere represented. The scene combines, on the right, the Assault of Māra, and on the left the deities celebrating the Buddha's final victory. As remarked by Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 69, the representation of Aśoka's Bodhi-ghara surrounding the tree is therefore in a sense an anachronism; perhaps it would be better to say that in this scene, three or even four separate events are combined, viz. the Assault of Māra, the visit of the deities, the Illumination, and the erection of Aśoka's temple. The latter is four-storeyed (three storeys besides the ground level); the uppermost storey is of the usual type, but as in the case of Figure 24 the uppermost gallery chamber ends in arched "French windows" at each side, and does not continue across the front, it must be assumed that the plan is apsidal. The two intermediate storeys are of open pillared construction, the lower only being provided with balcony windows. The ground plan would be not unlike that represented in Figure 39.

Of the two Amarāvatī examples, only one (Figure 30) is intact, and though poorly preserved can be readily interpreted (Figures 33, 42).[26] Here the gallery seems to be at an unusual height above the ground. It may be remarked that in no case is any means of access to the upper storeys indicated in the reliefs, but it is quite certain that the upper storeys were accessible (cf. the figures shown on the upper storey in Figure 22), and probable that they were used for circumambulation, though this could also have been done on the ground floor. It is perhaps worth while pointing out in this connection the parallel case of the secular *pāsāda*, mansion or palace, where the inhabited rooms are always on the second or other upper floor, and access is by means of a stair (e.g. J., III, 216, *sopāna*, and 239, *pāsādam abhirūhi*, etc.); in the representations of *pāsādas* we see persons on the upper storey balconies, but the stairway is never shown, as it would not be visible in an exterior view.

The second Amarāvatī example is a mere fragment (Figure 32), but what remains is well preserved and lends itself to a fairly complete restoration (Figure 34). The structure was evidently circular, with two storeys above the ground level. The tentative plan, Figure 41, cannot be very far removed from what would be inferable also in the case of the Sāñcī temple of Figure 29.

There remains one Bodhi-ghara (Figure 31) of unique form, occurring in a panel of an architrave from Mathurā, probably of early second century. This is evidently a walled structure; in the plan (Figure 40), drawn at the level of the lower protruding branches of the tree, it is assumed that there were doors on all four sides, but this may not have been the case, for this is evidently a protective, and not merely an honorific structure. The building seems to have been square, with octagonal corner towers; no other form satisfactorily explains the relief.

All known representations of Bodhi-gharas have now been illustrated and more or less successfully interpreted. The type is a very special one, and with all its variations of detail, of great interest; it occupies a logical place in a stylistically unified architectural tradition, and the present attempts at interpretation, together with such revisions and corrections as may be made later, must certainly throw some light on the building methods in general, as will appear when the secular domestic and palace architecture are subsequently discussed.

---

[26] For a discussion of the scene in which this representation appears see Rūpam, 38, 39, pp. 72, 73.

Plate VII.

Fig. 22. Circular *Bodhi-ghara* (see plan, Fig. 37). The whole represents the Great Enlightenment (inscription on the roof, *Bhagavato Saka-munino bodho*). Notice the umbrellas and garlands on the Bodhi-tree; umbrellas with garlands seen through the *mahāvātapāna* openings on the gallery level, and female figures standing on the gallery verandah; above, Supaṇṇas bringing flowers and garlands, and standing worshipping Devas, and below, lay worshippers, male and female; two *ratna-traya* symbols behind the altar, between them the decorated trunk of the Bodhi-tree; flower-offerings on the *vajrāsana*. Apparently two *tala* palms (omitted in the plan) are enclosed by the Bodhi-ghara, one on each side of the Bodhi-tree. The connected scenes below represent the Devas assembled in worship, Māra grieving at his defeat, etc. On the right, external to the Bodhi-ghara, and extending downward into the scene below, is a *dhaja-thabha* with an elephant capital (not shown in the plan). Bharhut, ca. 150–175 B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Plate VIII.

Fig. 23. Square *Bodhi-ghara*, with heavy corbelled roof-gallery. Umbrella and two banners on upper level, two banners at side; altar in front with *pañcangulikāni*. From a railing cross-bar medallion, Mathurā, second century B.C., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 24. Apsidal *Bodhi-ghara* (see diagram, Fig. 35 and plan, Fig. 39), situated in a grove of similar trees. The three porches open into the nave and two aisles of the whole structure, which must have resembled in plan the ordinary rock-cut *cetiya-gharas* or caitya-halls. Through the central porch opening are seen the *vajrāsana* and trunk of the Bodhi-tree. On the right is a *dhaja-thabha* with an elephant capital. Four lay worshippers, or perhaps the Four Regents or Mahārājas. Bharhut, 150–175 B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.

Fig. 25. Interior court (*angana*) of a square *Bodhi-ghara*, showing, above, the inner side of the gallery (the two side pillars and architrave with battlement and lotus motifs are not a part of the scene). In the centre of the court are the Bodhi-tree, and *vajrāsana* with an umbrella. Two Supaṇṇas are bringing flower offerings in *paṇṇa-pacchis*, and casting them toward the tree (an act of worship). In the courtyard, round the tree, are seated twenty-seven male persons, probably Devas. Bharhut, as before.

Plate IX.

Fig. 26. Apsidal *Bodhi-ghara* with three upper storeys. To the right, the Assault of Māra, to the left, Visit of the Devas, the whole scene representing the Great Enlightenment (cf. Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 69). Sāñcī, west *toraṇa*, in situ, ca. 50–75 B.C.

Fig. 27. Octagonal *Bodhi-ghara* (cf. plan Fig. 38), situated in a grove of mango and other fruit trees. Cf. Marshall, *Guide*, p. 65. Sāñcī, east *toraṇa*, in situ, ca. 75–100 B.C.

Fig. 28. Octagonal *Bodhi-ghara* (see diagram, Fig. 36, and plan, Fig. 38). Supaṇṇas with offerings above, worshipping Devas, perhaps the Four Regents, below. *Ratna-traya* symbol on the *vajrāsana*. Cf. Marshall, *Guide*, p. 61. Sāñcī, east *toraṇa*, lower architrave, in situ, ca. 75–100 B.C.

Plate X.

Fig. 29. Circular *Bodhi-ghara*. Three *ratna-traya* symbols on the *vajrāsana*. Cf. Marshall, *Guide*, pp. 50, 51. Sāñcī, south *toraṇa*, left pillar, in situ, ca. 100 B.C.

Fig. 30. Square *Bodhi-ghara* (see diagram, Fig. 33, and plan, Fig. 42), with tall slender pillars. Amarāvatī, ca. 200 A.D. Madras Museum.

Fig. 31. Square, walled, *Bodhi-ghara* (see plan, Fig. 40). Visit of Aśoka? From a Kusāna architrave, Mathurā, ca. 100–150 A.D. M-3 in the Mathurā Museum.

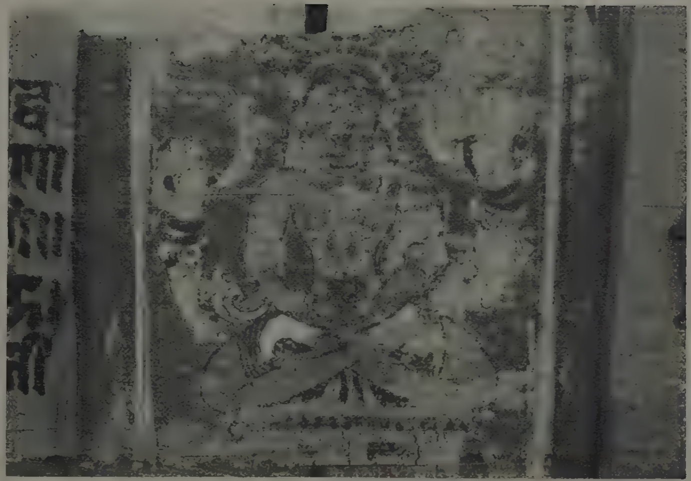
Fig. 32. Fragment of a circular *Bodhi-ghara* (see restoration Fig. 34, and plan, Fig. 41). Amarāvatī, first (?) century A.D. Madras Museum.

Plate XI.

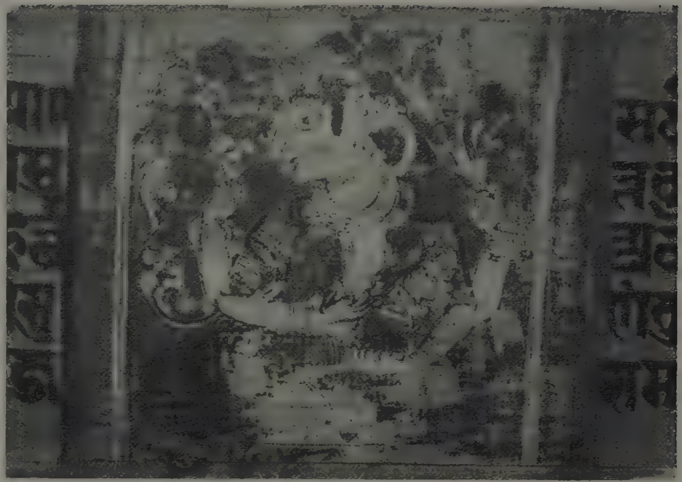
Figs. 33–36. Diagrams of *Bodhi-gharas*, in part restored.

Plate XII.

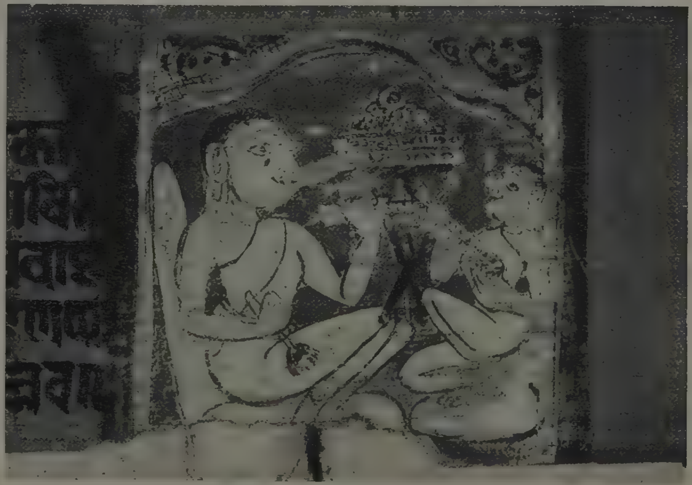
Figs. 37–42. Plans of *Bodhi-gharas*, deduced from the reliefs.



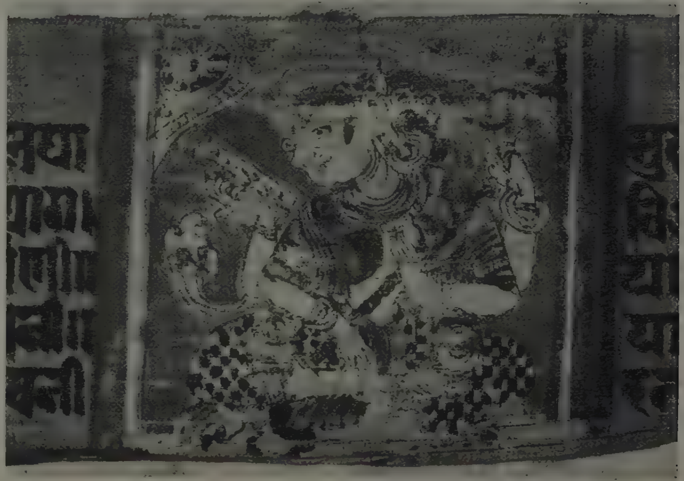
F. 1B, RIGHT: AMBIKĀ?



F. 1B, LEFT: PĀRSVANĀTHA



F. 2A, LEFT: JĀINA MONK AND DISCIPLE



F. 2A, RIGHT: SARASVATĪ

Jāina manuscript, A.D. 1260: four of the miniatures enlarged.

PLATE CXXXIV. *Coomaraswamy: An Illustrated Jāina Manuscript*

AN ILLUSTRATED ŚVETAMBĀRA JAINA MANUSCRIPT OF A. D. 1260

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

The palm leaf manuscript here briefly described and illustrated was recently given by Dr. Denman Ross to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and was purchased from Mr. N. M. Heeramaneck of New York. It is an imperfect copy of the *Sāvaga-paḍikkamana-sutta-cuṇṇī* (in Sanskrit *Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtra-cūrṇi*), a gloss on the *Śrāvaka-pratikramaṇa-sūtra*. In verse 2 the alternative title *Samaṇovāsaga-paḍikamaṇa-sutta-cuṇṇi* is given. Fortunately, the first and last leaves are preserved. The total number of leaves was 285, of which 56 are now missing; whether or not any of the missing leaves were illustrated cannot be determined. Illustrations are now preserved on leaves 1, 2, and the last leaf, No. 285, reproduced on Plate I. The language is Prakrit, with a Sanskrit colophon on the last leaf; the script is the usual Jāina Nāgarī, with rubricated string holes and numerals; the leaves measure .415 x .052 m. The illustrations, as usual, occupy square intertextual spaces; they are all done on a brick red ground enclosed in a square frame. The following colors are employed: dark blue, green, crimson, and black and white, without gold. As is very often the case in illustrated Jāina sketches, marginal sketches indicate the subject for each picture, and it is to be presumed that the pictures were added by a painter in the empty *ālekhya-sthānas* left by the scribe for this purpose. In style, the pictures are hardly to be distinguished from those of other well-known Jāina manuscripts; there are the same nervous wiry brush outlines, long pointed noses, and projecting eyes,[1] which are elsewhere characteristic of Jāina or Gujarātī painting, however we choose to designate it. But nearly all the known illustrated Jāina manuscripts are of later date and executed on paper, examples on palm leaf and of earlier than fifteenth century date being extremely rare[2] (the earliest known is dated equivalent to A.D. 1127); the few that are known, of which the present instance is not the least interesting, provide us with almost the only information we have as to the character of Western Indian painting in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and as we may fairly assume during some considerable time previous to this date. With the Western Indian Jāina manuscripts, the illustrated Buddhist texts of the Pāla period from Bengal and Nepal,[3] the frescoes of Polonnāruva in Ceylon,[4] and those of Pagān in Burma[5] (closely related in style to the Baṅgālī and Naipālī manuscript illustrations), we actually possess material sufficient to indicate the general character of Indian painting in the medieval period, and even this record, fragmentary as it is, represents more than could have been hoped for twenty years ago.[6]

The present manuscript is of considerable interest also from purely historical points of view. The colophon, for a transcript and translation of which I am indebted to the kindness and scholarship of Dr. L. D. Barnett, may be quoted in full:

> *Saṁvat 1317 varse māha sudi 14 ādityadine srīmad-āghāṭadurgge mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-umāpativara-labdha-prauḍha-pratāpa-samalaṁkṛta-śrī-tejasiṁha-devakalyāṇa-vijaya-rājye tatpāda-padmopajīvini mahāmātya-śrī-*

---

[1] The "projecting eye" is not peculiar to Gujarātī or Jāina painting, but is equally recognizable in the frescoes of Elūrā and those of Pagān in Burma. Cf. Stchoukine, *La peinture indienne*, p. 110, note 5.

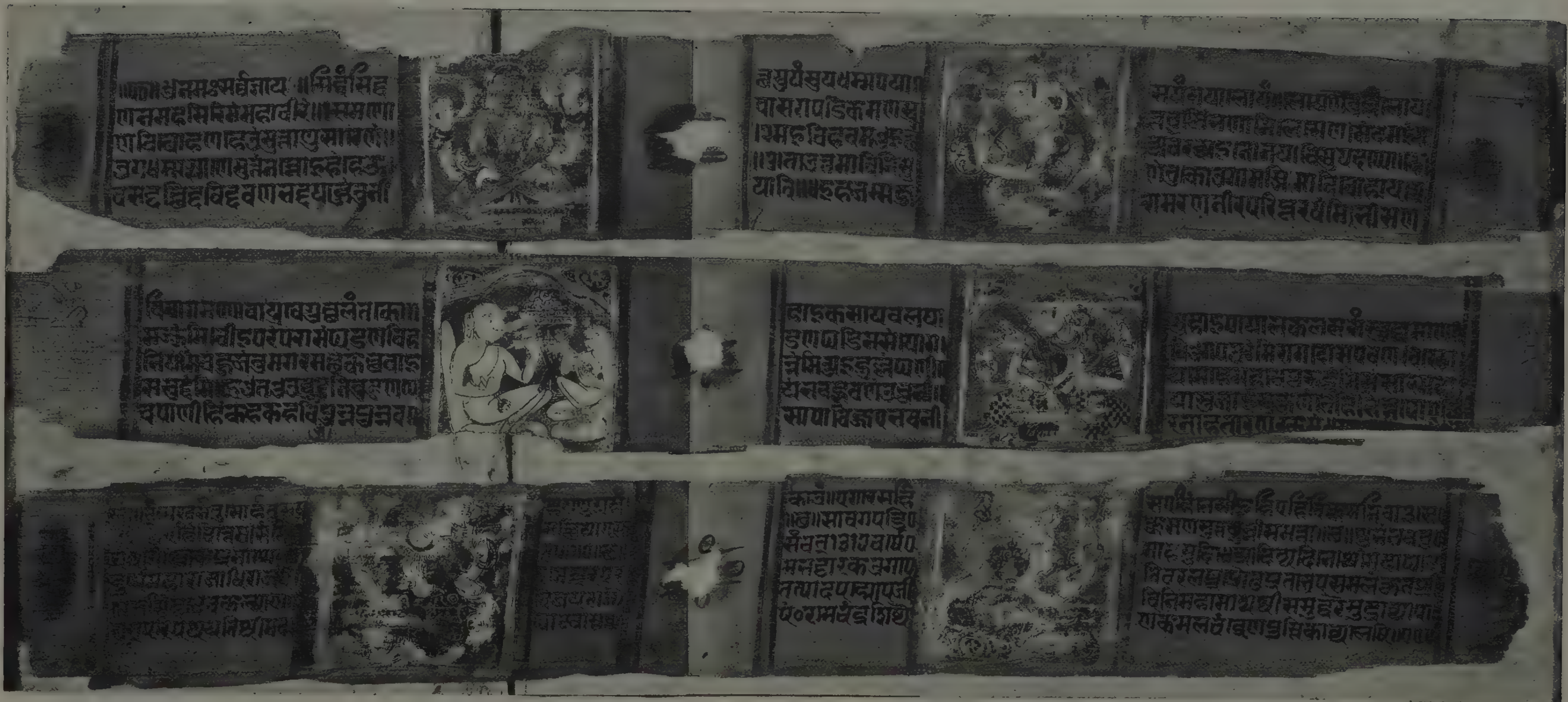
[2] See Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Pt. IV, Jāina painting*, and Brown, W. Norman, *Early Śvetāmbara Jāina miniatures* in Indian Art and Letters, N. S. III, 1929, and the literature there cited. The other illustrated palm-leaf Jāina mss. are dated equivalent to A. D. 1141, and 1237.

[3] See Ghose, A., *Miniatures of a newly discovered Buddhist palm-leaf manuscript from Bengal*, in Rūpam, 38–39, 1929, and literature there cited. The Nepalese temple banners found at Tun Huang should also be mentioned. See Stein, M. A., *Serindia*, pp. 1428, 1429, and Pl. LXXXVII.

[4] Arch. Surv. Ceylon, Ann. Rep., 1905, also 1896, p. 10 and 1897, p. 14.

[5] Duroiselle, *The Ari of Burma and Tāntric Buddhism*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1915–16; Thoman, Th. H., *Pagan, ein Jahrtausend buddhistischer Tempelkunst*, Heilbronn, 1925.

[6] For the general problem see also Goetz, H., *Die Malschulen des Mittelälters und die Anfänge der Moghul-Maleriei in Indien*, Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, N. F. 3, 1927.



First, second, and last pages of a Jāina manuscript, A.D. 1260.

PLATE CXXXV. *Coomaraswamy: An Illustrated Jāina Manuscript*

> *samuddhare mudrā-vyāpāran paripaṁthayati śrīmad-āghāṭa-vāstavya-paṁ(ḍita) rāmacaṁdra-siṣyeṇa kamalacaṁdreṇa pustikā vyaleṣi.* The translation is: "In the year 1317, on the 14th of the bright fortnight of Māgha, a Sunday, in the fortunate castle of Āghāṭa, during the auspicious victorious reign of His Majesty the fortunate Tejaḥsiṁha, who is adorned by [the titles of] Emperor, Supreme Lord, Supreme Master, receiving boons from Umā's Lord [Śiva], mighty in glory, while the High Minister the fortunate Samuddhara who lives upon His lotus feet was controlling the business of the Seal, the book was written by Kamalacandra disciple of Pandit Rāmacandra, a resident in the fortunate Āghāṭa."

The king Tejaḥsiṁha referred to is the Guhila king of that time, who was ruling in Mewāṛ at this time. Another record of the same king found at Chitor is dated in saṁvat 1324, or A.D. 1267.[7] Āghāṭa is now Ahar, near Udaipur.

List of Illustrations

Plate I. Ff. 1, 2 and 285 of the manuscript.

Above, f. 1b, on which page the text begins with an invocation of Mahāvīra:

1. Pārśvanātha, seated in *siddhāsana*, blue in color, and with the usual serpent hoods above his head; he wears a *dhotī* and jewelry, and has two *caurī*-waving attendants.

2. Goddess, perhaps Ambikā, seated in *vīrāsana*, four-armed, wearing *coḷī* and *dhotī*, and with a child at her breast. The upper left hand holds three fruits or flowers, the upper right, a bunch of rose lotuses. Cf. Norman Brown, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 4.

Centre, f. 2a.

3. A Jāina monk seated, apparently on a low chair with a back rest, holding a mouth-cloth (*mukha-vastrikā*, *-vastra*, *-pātrā*, or *-pattikā*) in his left hand, and in his right a broom (*rajoharaṇa*), instructing a disciple seated before him on a cushion and holding a book in both hands. The two monks are very possibly the Rāmacandra and Kamalacandra mentioned in the colophon. Behind these two figures is a table (*hatthapītha*) on which is a bundle, probably containing, as Professor Brown informs me, the symbolic representative of an absent *guru*. Note the sketches of these compositions in both margins.

4. The goddess Sarasvatī,[8] four-armed, seated in *vīrāsana*, wearing a *coḷī* and checkered *dhotī*, the normal hands holding a *vīṇā*, the upper right a book, the upper left a lotus. Note that the *coḷī* is shown open, exposing the breasts not only in Fig. 2, but in all cases.

Below, f. 285b, with the end of the text, and the colophon:

5. Goddess, possibly Dharaṇendrī, seated in *vīrāsana*, four-armed, normal right-hand on thigh, normal left in the charity gesture (*varada mudrā*), upper right with single-hooded cobra, upper left with three-headed cobra. The outline of the profile of the face is doubled in a curious way, but it is scarcely possible to think that a two-headed figure is intended.

6. Goddess seated in *vīrāsana*, four-armed, normal right hand in the charity gesture (*varada mudrā*), normal left on thigh, upper right with noose (*pāśa*), upper left with elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*).

Plate II. Details of the items 2–5 as numbered above.

---

[7] See Journ. As. Soc. Bengal., Vol. LV, Pt. 1, 1887, p. 17.

[8] Or possibly Cakreśvarī, cf. Brown, *Early Svetambara Jāina miniatures*, Indian Art and Letters, III, fig. 2 (a goddess with a book, and accompanied by a *haṁsa:* identified as Cakreśvarī by a Jāina monk of Cambay). Cakreśvarī is one of the most popular of the Jāina Vidyādevīs, but whether she can really be identified with Sarasvatī is doubtful; one would expect Cakreśvarī to carry a *cakra* as attribute.

P. S. With respect to the open bodice (*colī* or *kañcuka* or *kañcukī*), cf. Bāṇa, *Caṇḍīśataka*, 71, *trutyantaḥ pīnabhāge stanavalanabharāt saṁdhayaḥ kañcukasya* "the seams of her bodice are burst open at the part where it bulges on account of the pressure of her swelling breasts," and *ib.*, 72, *prāntasphuṭatkañcuka* "the bodice (of Caṇḍī) gaping open at the edges."

Additional references to *kañcuka*, *kañcukī*, not given in *Catalogue of the Indian Collections, V, Rajput Painting*, Boston, pp. 32, 33, are: *Karpūramañjarī*, I, 13 (women do not wear a *kūrpāsaka* in summer); *kañcukasaṁdhi*, "fastening of a bodice," stanza attributed to Mayūra, in Quackenbos, *Sanskrit poems of Mayūra*, p. 239; *Padumāwatī* of Malik Muḥammad Jaisī, 38.

EARLY INDIAN ICONOGRAPHY

(Published in *Eastern Art*, Volume I, Numbers 1 and 3)

CORRIGENDA AND ADDENDA

I. Indra

P. 35, note 6. The view that *Ida-sāla guhā* means the "cave of the Ida-sāla tree" is supported by the fact that in *Jātaka*, IV, 92, *sallakī* is glossed as *inda-sāla rukkha*. For a cave named after a tree standing beside it, cf. the Nyagrodha cave referred to in Csoma de Köros, *Asiatic Researches*, XX, p. 91. Professor A. B. Keith writes to me that he concurs in the view that *Ida-sāla guhā* is not to be regarded as the equivalent of *Indra-śaila guha*.

P. 35. Figures A and B on this page have been printed upside down.

See also Addenda on p. 122 (for abhinçkramaça read *abhiniṣkramaṇa*).

Other examples of Indra's special cylindrical *kirīṭa* in Āndhra art include (1) top panel of the Nanda stele, Burgess, *Buddhist stupas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa*, Plate XLI, Fig. 5; (2) left end scene of the Nanda panel recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Met. Mus. Bull., XXV, No. 5;) (3) *Sasa Jātaka* panel, Ramachandran, T.N., *Buddhist sculptures from a stupa near Goli Village, Guntur District*, Bull. Madras Govt. Museum, N. S., I, 1929, Pl. XI, No. 10.

II. Śrī-Laksmī

P. 175. It has been pointed out by Geiger[1] that Ashi, who is the Gāthas of the Avesta is a personification of Fortune (not merely an abstraction, but a goddess actually affecting human welfare) is the analogue of the Indian Śrī-Lakṣmī; she "establishes" herself with those she favours, just as Śrī-Lakṣmī "dwells" with them. Ashi is the daughter of Ahura Mazda (equivalent of Varuṇa), and of his consort Aramati; she is the sister of Sraosha, Rasnu, and Mithra. Similarly Anāhita, the "life-increasing" and no less concrete goddess of the waters, likewise a daughter of Ahura Mazda and sister of the Amesha Spentas, bestows on her worshippers fertility and wealth, and offers numerous analogies both to Śrī-Lakṣmī and to Aditi. Incidentally, in connection with the tightly girt waist of some Maurya or Śuṅga images (H.I.I.A., Fig. 57, and A.S.I., A.R., 1914–15, Pt. 1, Pl. XVIII, Fig. l) and the narrow waist of the Indian ideal generally, cf. *Zend Avesta*, *Ābān Yasht*, XXX, 127: "She girded her waist tightly, so that her breasts might be well-shaped, that they might be tightly pressed." On the other hand, the "girdle of Aditi" alluded to in *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 5, 2, 13 and XIV, 2, 1, 6 and 8 may be thought of as a *mekhala*, rather than this tight cincture.

For further details regarding Anāhita and Ashi see the *Abān Yasht* and *Ashi Yasht* of the *Zend Avesta*, S.B.E., Vol. XXIII.

---

[1] Geiger, B., *Die Aməsa Spəntas, ihr Wesen und ihre urspr. Bedeutung*, Sitz. Wiener Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Hist. Kl., 176 VII, 1914-15.

The Amesha Spentas (and to some extent the Fravashis) of Zoroastrianism present certain analogies with Yakṣas, and all these divinities, together with Ahura Mazda and Varuṇa, in Iranian and Vedic mythology, seem to represent to a greater or less extent survivals of pre-Aryan forms of Nature worship; and this is only a parallel to what took place in the Mediterranean area, where likewise the older religious ideas were merely overlaid by, and not replaced by Aryan conceptions.

Mr. B. B. Bhattacharya calls my attention to the fact that in the *Śrī Sukta* Śrī is said to be aroused from sleep by elephants (*hastinādaprabodhitā*), proving another early association with the elephant. For the *Śrī Sukta* see the translation and comment by Scheftelowitz in Z. D. M. G., 75, 1921.

P. 181, line 31, for Plate V read Plate XXVIII.

P. 183. Another, very fine *abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī occurs on an early Sārnāth railing pillar (Cambridge History of India, I, Fig. 57).

P. 185, line 4. For *Māmallapuram (7th century, Fig. 24)* read *Elūrā (Rāvaṇa kā Khai)*.

P. 187. Another *abhiṣeka* is represented by a mediæval image of Kārttikeya, found at Madaur, Tahsil Mahaban, District Mathurā, U.P., and now in the Mathurā Museum; the deity is riding on his usual vehicle, the peacock; behind him, against a background formed by the outspread tail of the peacock, stand two persons, one polycephalous, pouring water upon him from inverted jars.

The symbolism of the *abhiṣeka* as an essential part of the consecration ceremony (Rājasūya) is clearly explained in *Atharva Veda* IV. 7. 5: "The waters of heaven that revel with milk, in the atmosphere and also on the earth—with the splendor of all those waters do I pour (*abhi-sic*) upon thee." We have already seen that this is obviously the significance in the case of the *abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī. Cf. "From rain certainly originate virility, sap, well-being" (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, I, 8, 3, 15).

For showers of wealth falling from the clouds, cf. my *A royal gesture*, in Feestbundel K. Bat. Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschapen, Deel 1, 1929; and at Borobuḍur, Krom, N. J., *Båråbudur*, *Archæological description*, 1927, Story of Mandhātar, Nos. 41–44, p. 270, and unidentified Jātaka, No. 260, p. 413 (the latter a shower caused by Kubera: cf. DN., II, 201, where the rains fall from Kubera's Lake Dharanī).

It is by no means uninteresting to observe a very close parallel to some of these ideas in quite another culture. The following passage is taken from Cushing, *Zuñi Creation Myths*, 13th Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 381: "Yea! and even as these grains gleam up from the water, so shall seed grains like to them, yet numberless, spring up from thy bosom when touched by my waters, to nourish my children."

Illustrations. Descriptions of the illustrations were omitted, and are now given:

A. Chamfer relief, elephant on lotus, Bharhut, ca. 175 B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

B. Yakṣī bearing food and drink, railing pillar, Kuṣāna, from the Kankālī Ṭīlā well, Mathurā, Mathurā Museum (A.S.I., A.R., 1915–16, P. 1, Pl. V, c. height 23 inches).

C. Detail from coping, Bharhut, tree spirit offering food and drink to travellers, illustrating *Dhammapada Atthakathā*, I, 203–204. (Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends*, I, p. 277); ca. 175 B.C., Indian Museum, Calcutta.

D. Lakṣmī, terra-cotta from Saṅkīsa (Cunningham, A.S. Rep., XI, Pl. IX).

E. Śrī-Lakṣmī, nimbate, usual pose, standing on lotus, Yaudheya coin, (Cunningham, *Coins of ancient India*, VI, 9) *ca.* first century A.D.

F. *Puṇṇa-ghaṭa*, brimming vessel, detail of architrave, from Mathurā, Kuṣāna, M3 in the Mathurā Museum.

G. and H. Capitals of pillars, Kānheri; *abhiṣeka* of a Bodhi-tree and of a stūpa (in both cases the heavenly waters are poured from above by (sky-) elephants, earthly waters offered below by worshippers in brimming vessels, cf. *Atharva Veda* IV, 75, cited above); second century 100 A.D.; from Burgess, A.S. W.I., IV, Pl. XLI, 2 and p. 62, Fig. 21.

1. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, terra-cotta, Śuṅga, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

2. The same, in the tympanum of an excavated Jāina monastery doorway, Ananta Gumphā, Khandagiri, Oṛissā, ca. 100 B.C.

3. Śrī-Lakṣmī (?), terra-cotta, from Basārh; the goddess is winged, and stands on and among the lotuses. 3rd–2nd century B.C. (A.S.I., A.R. 1913–14.)

4. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, railing medallion, Bharhut, ca. 175 B.C. Indian Museum, Calcutta. The lotuses rise from a brimming vessel; the goddess presses her breast.

5. Brimming vessel (*puṇṇa-ghaṭa*), Bharhut (as 4).

6. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, railing medallion, stūpa 2, Sāñcī, Śuṅga.

7, 9, 10, 11. Same subject, all panels from the *toraṇas* of stūpa 1, Sāñcī, 100–50 B.C. (in 10 the lotuses rise from a brimming vessel).

8. As 5, but from Sāñcī.

12. Sirimā Devatā ("the goddess Mother Śrī"), railing pillar, Bharhut, as 4.

13. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, tympanum of caitya-hall at Mānmoḍa, first century B.C.

14. Figure like Śrī-Lakṣmī, chamfer relief, Bharhut, as 4.

15. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, railing pillar, Bodhgayā ca. 100 B.C.

16. Śrī-Lakṣmī, railing medallion, stūpa 2, Sāñcī, ca. 100 B.C.

17. Śrī-Lakṣmī holding lotus, standing beside deer, with *sirivaccha* (*śrīvatsa*) between horns and railed *chatta* to left; coin of Amoghabhūti, first century B.C. or A.D.

18. Śrī-Lakṣmī standing on lotus, wearing *dhotī*, possibly a lion to right; coin of Azes, late first century B.C. British Museum. (Reference should appear on p. 182, line 36.)

19. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī: coin of Azilises, late first century B.C., Pañjāb Museum, Lahore (Whitehead).

20. Same subject, Ceylon coin, *ca.* first century A.D., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

21. Same subject, top architrave, outer side, south *toraṇa*, Sāñcī, ca. 50 B.C.

22. Śrī-Lakṣmī, on and among lotuses rising from a brimming vessel, from Mathurā, height 3 feet, 10½ inches, Kuṣāna, B89 in the Lucknow Museum.

23. Śrī-jalakrīḍa, Dandān Uiliq, *ca.* 7th century (Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, P. XI).

24. *Abhiṣeka* of Śrī-Lakṣmī, Māmallapuram, seventh century A.D.

25. Same subject, terra-cotta seal from Basāṛh; genii (Yakṣas) at side with pots of money; Gupta (A.S.I., A.R., 1903–04 Pl. XL).

26. Same subject, impression of copper seal; Gupta, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

27. Part of the coping, Amarāvatī, roll-garland (lotus rhizome) drawn from the mouth of a *makara* by Śrī-Lakṣmī and supported by a dwarf Yakṣa; ca. 200 A.D. Madras Museum.

28. Śrī-Lakṣmī, or related type, caryatide, height 3 feet, 4 inches, from Mathurā, in the Bharata Kalā Parishad, Benares.

For Śrī-Lakṣmī in Java see Bosch, F.D.K., *Gouden Vingerringen uit het hindoe-javaansch tijdperk*, Djawa, VII, 5 and 6, 1927.

Early Indian Iconography, III, Śiva, is in preparation.

A. K. C.

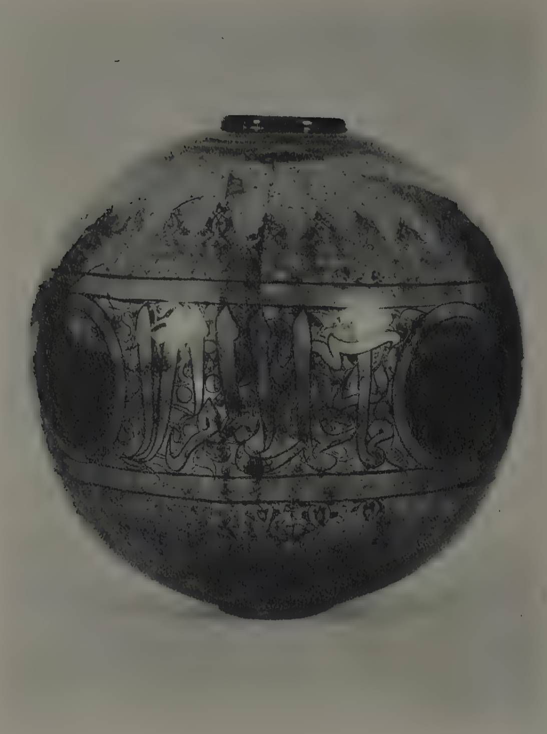


FIG. 1.

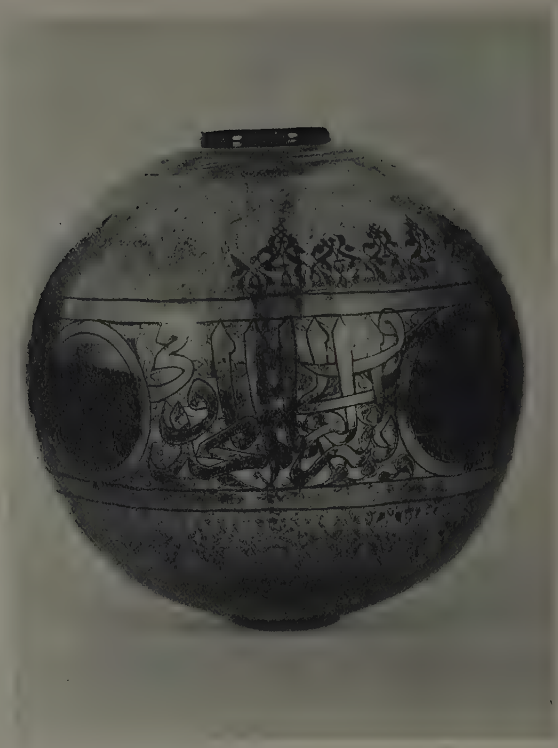


FIG. 2.

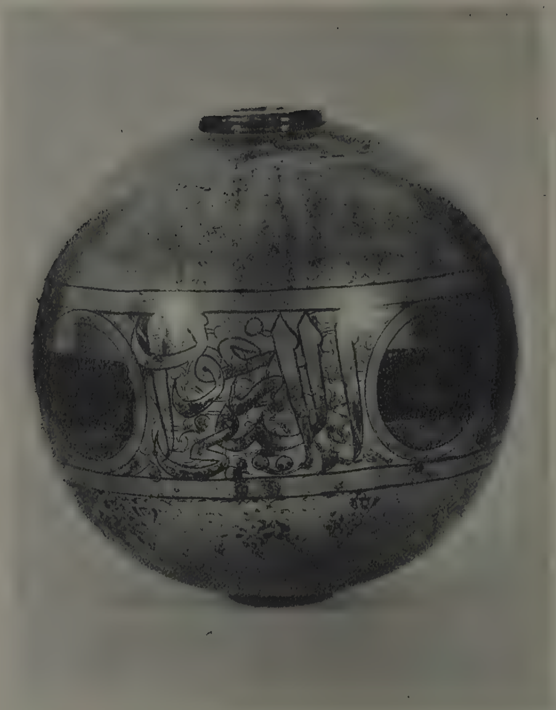


FIG. 3.

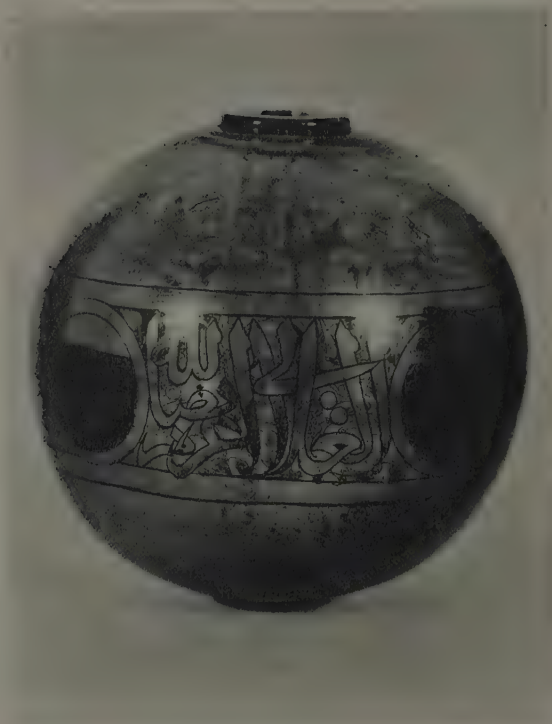


FIG. 4.

PLATE CXXXVI. *Martinovitch. A Glass Globe of Arghūn*

A GLASS GLOBE OF ARGHŪN

By N. MARTINOVITCH

In the wonderful collections of Muhammadan art, which are preserved in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, there is a glass globe[1] mosque lamp, which usually has been attributed to Arghūn, the king of Mesopotamia and Persia, of the Il-khān dynasty or of the so-called Mongols of Persia, 1284 to 1291.[2] It was, in fact, made for another Arghūn.

On the panel around this globe, between four medallions, is an Arabic inscription,

مما عمل برسم المقر الاشرف العالى المخدومى

السيفى ارغون العلايى عز الله انصاره

which reads in translation: "Of what was made by order of his excellency, the noblest, exalted, master, as-Saifī, Arghūn, al-'Ālayī, God magnify his triumphs!" (See Plate I.)

In the translation of this common formula I follow the system adopted in similar cases by S. Lane Poole.[3]

The important words here are as-Saifī and al-'Ālayī. The first is an abbreviation of the Arabic sentence "of Saif ad-Dīn;" the second must be a name. The above mentioned Arghūn Il-khān could not have these Muhammadan names since he was a Buddhist. His son Ghazān was the first Il-khān who embraced Islam and his Moslem name was Maḥmūd. "Of Saif ad-Dīn" means also "a liegeman of Saif ad-Dīn," and we have a certain Arghūn who really was the liegeman of a Saif ad-Dīn and one of whose names was al-'Ālayī.

This Arghūn was Secretary of State (*dawādār*) and step-father of Kāmil Saif ad-Dīn Sha'bān I, a Mamlūk Sultān of Egypt, of the Bahri dynasty, 1345 to 1346.[4] Because of that his complete title and his names were Arghūn al-'Ālayī al-Kāmilī as-Saifī, the two last names being in honour of his sovereign. Later, in 1349, he was appointed governor of Aleppo and, in 1351, of Damascus. He was also a protector of art and the founder of some buildings, on which we find inscriptions with his name.[5] Thus, it seems to me, the glass globe of the Boston Museum was certainly made by order of this Arghūn, the governor.

Moreover, if we compare the decorative style of our globe with the well-known lamps made in Egypt and Syria in the fourteenth century, its relationship to works of the Mamlūk period is evident.

---

[1] *Illustrated Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, 1928, p. 104.

[2] G. Migeon, *Manuel d'art musulman*, 1927, v. 2, pp. 126, 142.

[3] S. Lane Poole, *The Art of the Saracens in Egypt*, 1886, pp. 206–225.

[4] G. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, 1860, B. IV, S. 462ff.

[5] E. Zambaur, *Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam*, 1927, pp. 31, 35. Two inaccuracies occur on these pages with regard to Arghūn: first, his title is given as "*diwādār*" instead of "*dawādār;*" second, on the page 31 the end of his governorship of Damascus is given as 759 A. H.—1358—but on the page 35 his death is placed one year earlier.

CONTENTS

PAGE

Edward Hamilton Bell, 1857–1929 3

The Peasant Paintings of Ōtsu, Japan 5
By Muneyoshi Yanagi

Kōrai Celadon in America 37
By Lorraine d'O. Warner

A Note on the Pottery Kilns of the Kōrai Dynasty 123
By Muneyoshi Yanagi

Contemporary Cambodian Art Studied in the Light of its Past Forms . 127
By George Groslier

Indian Miniatures in German Museums and Private Collections 143
By Hermann Goetz

Early Vaishnava Miniature Paintings From Western India 167
By W. Norman Brown

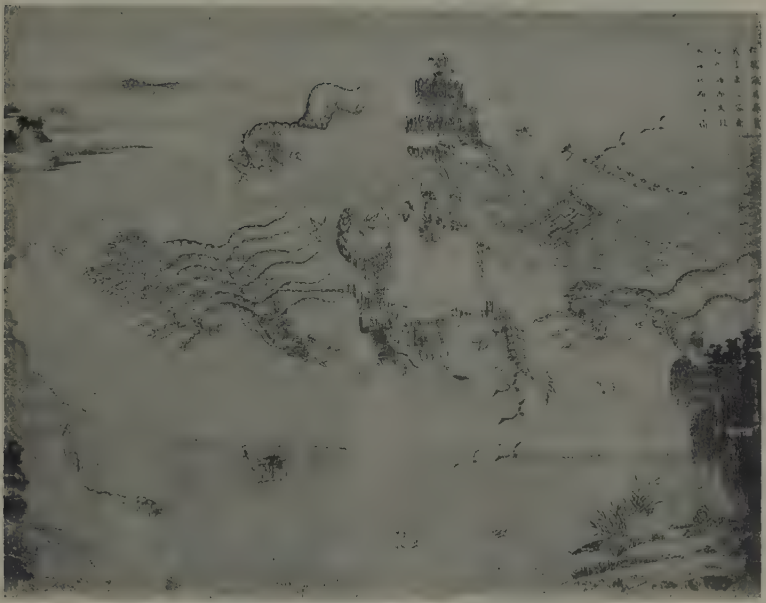
Early Indian Architecture 209
By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

An Illustrated Śvetāmbara Jāina Manuscript of A. D. 1260 237
By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

A Glass Globe of Arghūn 245
By N. Martinovitch

CHICAGO WASHINGTON BOSTON

WORKS OF FINE ART
FROM THE ORIENT



Illustrated—Part of a makimono
scroll painting depicting the
LO-SHÊN POEM
Sung dynasty 960-1280 A. D.

YAMANAKA & COMPANY

680 Fifth Avenue, New York

LONDON PEIPING SHANGHAI

Rare Three-Colour Biscuit Figure
of P'usa Kuan Yin
Early K'ang Hsi period. 1662-1722 A. D.

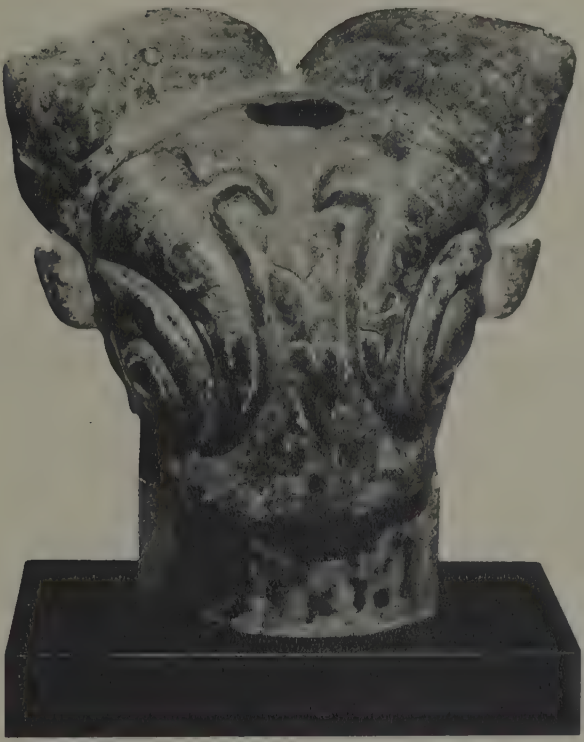
The Gallery of
RALPH M. CHAIT

EARLY CHINESE ART

600 MADISON AVENUE
At 57th Street New York

BERLIN PEKIN SHANGHAI

OTTO BURCHARD
AND COMPANY, INC.



Bronze Ensign Staff Head
Chou Dynasty (1122-225 B. C.)

EARLY CHINESE ART
ALWAYS ON VIEW

C. EDWARD WELLS
Managing Director

Friedrich Ebert Strasse 5
Berlin W. 9.

13 East 57th Street
New York

The Galleries of

TON-YING & COMPANY

EARLY CHINESE ART

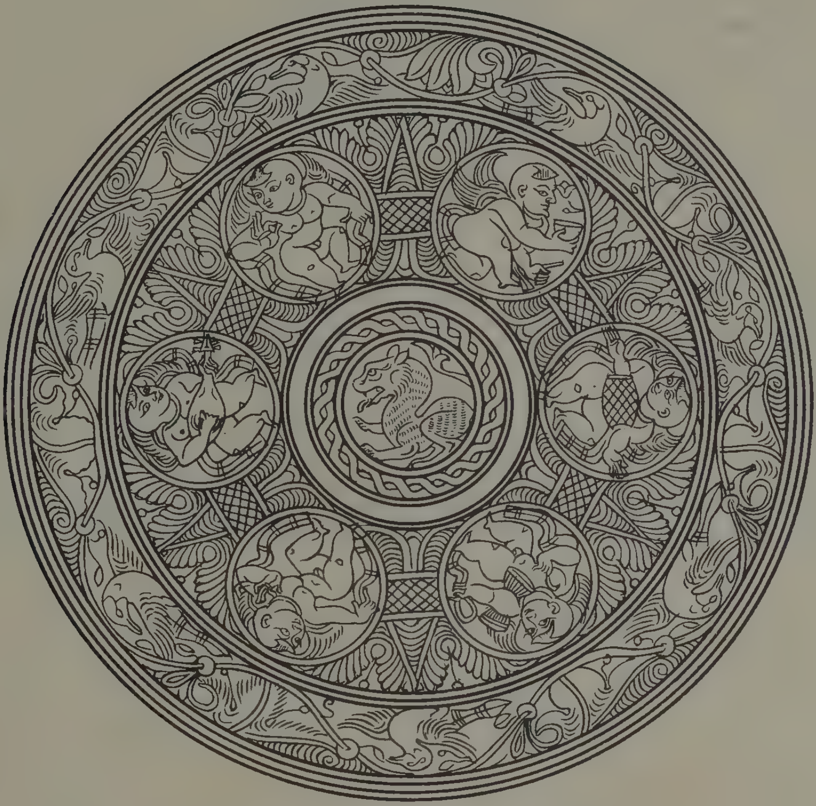
NEW YORK

5 EAST 57 STREET

NEW YORK PARIS LONDON SHANGHAI

HEERAMANECK
GALLERIES

EARLY INDIAN ART



DRAWING OF AN INDIAN BRONZE BOWL
4TH TO 6TH CENTURY—AJANTA SCHOOL

724 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
BOMBAY PARIS

DEMOTTE

MINIATURE
Representing several personages taking collation with a Fakir—Indo Persian art—XVIIth century

NEW-YORK
✠ 25 EAST ✠
78TH STREET

✠ PARIS ✠
27 RUE DE
BERRI (VIIIe)

The Gallery of

P. JACKSON HIGGS

PAINTINGS

Objects of Art

Eleven East Fifty-Fourth Street
NEW YORK

VASE CHIN 1115-1234 A. D.

COLEMAN-MEERKERK, INC.

38 EAST 57TH STREET **NEW YORK**

PARNASSUS

Published monthly by the College Art Association exclusively for Association members

Timely articles on current topics pertaining to Eastern art

COLLEGE ART ASSOCIATION
20 West 58th Street
NEW YORK CITY

SHANGHAI PEKING

C. T. LOO & CO.

ANTIQUE
CHINESE ART

PARIS
48 RUE DE COURCELLES
34 RUE TAITBOUT

NEW YORK
559 FIFTH AVENUE

PRINTED BY THE
AQUATONE PROCESS AT THE PRESS OF
EDWARD STERN & CO., INC.
PHILADELPHIA, PA.
U. S. A.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
3 1831 16232276

DATE DUE

Printed in USA